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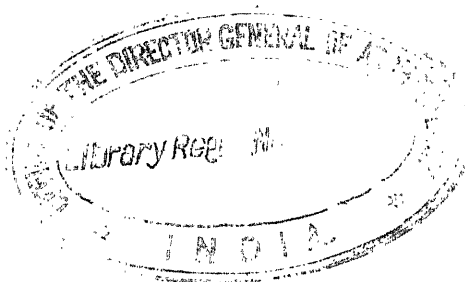
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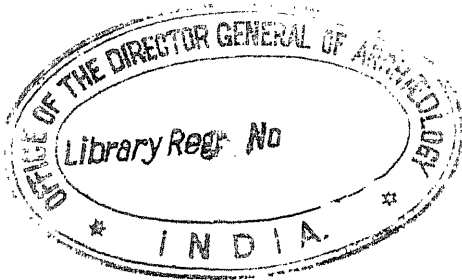
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THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.







THE  
 NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
 AND  
 JOURNAL  
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 NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY  
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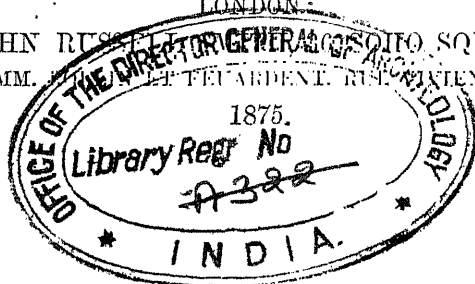
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# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

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I.

ON AN UNIQUE COIN OF PLATON, A KING OF  
BACTRIANA.

This tetradrachm may be described as follows:—

*Obv.*—Bust of the king to the right, draped; on head, a helmet identical in form with those on the heads of Eukratides, Archebius, Straton, and Menander, and exhibiting on it the ear and horn of a bull; the whole being surmounted by a crest.

*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.**

The king as Helios, with the solar rays proceeding from his head, driving a quadriga inclined to the right; the ends of his chlamys in the air behind him indicating the speed with which his chariot is urged forward. In the field, to right, monogram (Cunningham, No. 86), and in the exergue the date **PMI** (*i.e.* 147 of the æra of the Seleukidæ = B.C. 165).  
*R.* Size 1·2; wt. 258 gr.

This interesting coin, now in the National Collection, was obtained by it about three years since, for a consider-



able sum though not excessive when we remember that it represents a king up to this time unrecorded in history, and one, too, apparently belonging to the earlier period of the Bactrian monarchy, when the rulers of that country not only bore Greek names, but were, in all probability, themselves Greeks.

With regard to the previous history of this piece before it came into the possession of the British Museum, I learn that it was originally procured from an itinerant goldsmith of Sháh-ke-Dheri, who had himself obtained it somewhere in Central Asia, perhaps in the Hazára country, or beyond the Hindu Kúsh, and that from him it passed into the hands of one Chandra Mall, a professional dealer in coins and antiquities.

While in the possession of Chandra Mall it was seen by Mr. J. Delmerick, of Raul-Pindi, who at once transmitted to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a notice of it, in this respect incorrect, that he described it as a coin of Straton, although he had noticed that Platon adopted only the single title of **ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ**, whereas Straton uses on his silver money the additional one of **ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ**, and, on his copper, that of **ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ**: moreover, occasionally, on what General Cunningham believes to be his latest pieces, that also of **ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡ**. More than this, Mr. Delmerick having observed the coincidence of the monogram on this coin with those on some of the coins of Menander, drew the somewhat hasty inference that, for this reason, Straton must have ruled either immediately before, or immediately after, that well-known king. I ought to add here, that a minute examination of the piece has convinced me of its unquestionable genuineness, though, in passing through many, and some probably not very careful, hands it has met with a slight super-

ficial injury. In preservation and general appearance it fairly ranks with the average tetradrachms of Eukratides; and though it is not *au fleur de coin*, there is at the same time nothing about it at all suspicious.

I hope that the considerable price paid for it in this country may serve to stimulate further research, and that, sooner or later, we may obtain submultiples of it; for, on the analogy of the money of Eukratides and of Straton, it is likely that these are in existence, if we only knew where to look for them.

Mr. Thomas, in the second part of his "Initial Coinage of Bengal," Lond., 1873, p. 38, observes "that this piece contributes the most striking testimony to the value of numismatic inquiries perhaps ever adduced, in confirming, by the single date<sup>1</sup> hitherto known in the entire Bactrian series which appears on its surface, the exact epoch of Eukratides' death in B.C. 165, which had been, originally, speculatively fixed from less definite data.

The specific determination of this era he considers to be of the highest importance. I must, however, be allowed to remark, that the inference drawn by my friend, Mr. Thomas, from this remarkable date (the value of which I

<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ix. p. 226) had suspected that the letters ΠΓ on a coin of Heliclos represented 83; and, quite recently (see "Academy," December 26, 1874), Mr. Thomas has shown from another coin of this ruler, now in the British Museum, the existence of the full trilateral date ΠΠΓ (183, i.e. B.C. 128); and, therefore, that, with the Platon-date of PMZ (147, i.e. B.C. 164), and the two suggested by General Cunningham (though on somewhat fanciful reasons), the theory of *imaginary* Bactrian dates falls to the ground. Mr. Thomas has further detected eight regnal years on coins of Menander, and two on those of Apollodotus of 60 and 65 severally, the era of which is uncertain. I hope that Mr. Thomas's valuable and interesting paper may be reprinted in the next number of the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

do not dispute) does not admit of any actual proof, but depends wholly on the probability, strong or weak, that the placing, by Platon, on the obverses of his coins, a minutely exact portrait of Eukratides implies that he was either the son of that monarch or his immediate successor. Yet, all that we are really entitled to infer from this fact is, that Eukratides and Platon were in some way nearly connected, by relationship, possibly, though not necessarily; and, since, as we shall presently see, it was a common custom in Bactriana to place the names of two or more rulers on the same coin, it is just as likely that Platon was the governor of one of the provinces adjoining it, for instance, of Sogdiana or Margiana,—the contemporary of Eukratides, perhaps his viceroy,—as that he was actually his son and successor to the throne made vacant by the murder of his supposed father: indeed, on this view, he might have lived for some years after Eukratides. Where history is silent, speculation is rife. General Cunningham has used this largely, in some cases, I think, wisely, and I am entitled to do the like; indeed, I am bound to say, that, to my mind, both these hypotheses, that of Mr. Thomas and my own, have about equal weight. More than this, I do not presume to claim for my own view.<sup>2</sup>

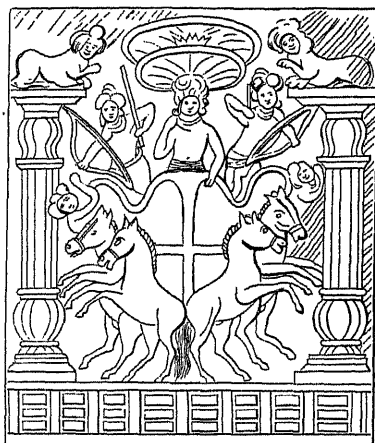
Mr. Thomas further considers “the conception of the horses of Helios in advance of their execution, the artist not having been equal to the model he had before him.” Moreover, it is interesting to know that the same

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<sup>2</sup> I do not think the use of the title **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ** is an objection to this view. It might fairly be used for the chief satrap under a suzerain, like **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ**. Moreover, even if we were perfectly certain of the date of the death of Eukratides, Platon would still have been entitled to put the date 165 on his coin during part of that year; so that the “succession-theory” is not supported by the occurrence of the date.

type has been detected by General Cunningham during his recent researches, on some monuments attributed by him to the age of Asoka; and, therefore, if the date he assigns to this ruler be correct, viz., B.C. 250, this type belongs to a period nearly synchronous with that of the Bactrian revolt under Diodotus I.

As General Cunningham's discovery is very interesting, I add here a woodcut copy of his plate, with his description of it.



"The subject," says he, "is *Sūrya*, or the Sun, driving a four-horsed chariot, with two attendant archers shooting his rays like arrows upon the earth. In this treatment I think that there is a decided evidence of Greek influence in the restricted number of *four* horses attached to the chariot; for the Indian *Sūrya*, from the earliest times down to the present day, has always been represented as driving a chariot with *seven* horses. . . . But whence came the four horses? To this question I can only reply, 'From the Greeks.' . . . There was a famous temple of the Sun at Taxila, of which place Asoka had once been governor during his father's lifetime. Here, then, the Indians might have seen the Greek representations of the Sun-god, which were afterwards carried to Palibothra by either pure Greek or half Greek sculptors. I agree with Mr. Fergusson in thinking that the Indians in all probability derived the *art of sculpture* from the Greeks. In the Panjāb this

would have been introduced as early as B.C. 300, and in a few years it would have found its way to the great capital, Palibothra.”<sup>3</sup>

The letters on this coin of Platon are well defined, and, individually, carefully ranged, though some variations, divergences, or modifications, may be detected. These, however, Mr. Thomas thinks may be explained on the supposition that the punches of the separate mint-marks and monograms were kept ready to be struck into the soft metal of the die when required—an hypothesis, however, only of value if it can be shown that Platon immediately succeeded Eukratides, or ruled over precisely the same districts as he. With respect to the date on it, I have no doubt, from a close inspection of the coin, that it has been correctly deciphered; although, unfortunately, the legend is slightly corroded. Since, however, two of the numeral letters are **M** (40) and **II** (7), the third to the left, *to have any meaning at all*, must be **P** (100): the higher numbers, **Σ** (200) &c., being necessarily excluded, as no Numismatist would place this coin, or rather the king who struck it, so late as the first century B.C. Admitting the accuracy of the date, and what cannot, therefore, be doubted, that 147 of the era of the Seleukidæ corresponds with B.C. 165, we have this much for certain, that a king Platon was then reigning in Bactriana, or in its immediate neighbourhood; while the portrait of Eukratides certainly suggests that Platon was contemporary with him or nearly so, and in all probability his viceroy.

For this belief I accept the numismatic evidence as unquestionable, the resemblance between this portrait and that of Eukratides being so complete that we may believe the same die to have been used for the obverses of the tetradrachms of both kings. But I confess I

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<sup>3</sup> “Archæol. Survey of India,” vol. iii. p. 97, Pl. 27.

think this is all that can be *positively* affirmed. It must be remembered that, in the cases of Diodotus, Menander, Eukratides, and other rulers of this part of Asia, we have the direct testimony of history, the coins assigned to them confirming in all respects these independent notices. On the other hand, the actual position of Platon can only be inferred from the close resemblances noticed above; and the value of such inferential evidence will doubtless be estimated differently by different students. For my own part I do not see that more can be claimed for it than (as I have stated) a direct connection with Eukratides, either as his successor, or as the suzerain whose superiority he admitted.

On the other hand, there are some other numismatical inferences in the case of the Bactrian coinage to which I entirely assent. Thus, where we find the head of one king on the obverse and the names of other kings on the reverse of the same coin, there is no reason to doubt that the kings recorded on these obverses and reverses were nearly associated together. Such instances are, Diodotus with Antimachus and Agathokles; Euthydemus and Antiochus, respectively, with Agathokles; and Eukratides with Heliokles and Laodike.

When, however, the still further inference is drawn, from the occurrence of the form **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ** in such legends as the following—

1. *Obv.*—**ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.**  
*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.**
2. *Obv.*—**ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.**  
*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.**
3. *Obv.*—**ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.**  
*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.**

4. *Obv.*—**ANTIOXOY NIKATOPOΣ.***Rev.*—The same.

viz. that an inferiority is here implied in the use of the genitive of the participle instead of that of the noun—such, for instance, as that of the Satrap to the Monarch—I confess I am not satisfied; nor, indeed, am I aware that the genius of the Greek language admits of any such distinction: in other words, I believe that these two forms, **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** and **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ**, convey precisely the same sense. Moreover, on one of the associated types of Diodotus and Agathokles, **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** is used on the obverse and reverse for *both* rulers. Again, at the commencement of the Rosetta stone we find **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ**, &c., where the sense is obviously that of **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**. I notice, too, that this view has been accepted by the French translator, who writes, “Sous le règne du jeune et successeur immédiat de son père, &c. ;” and, further still, on a coin of Arsakes XII. we meet with the still further and modified form, **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ**. I think, therefore, the supposition of inferiority cannot be sustained from the language of the titles; indeed, other instances of the participial genitive may be remembered, as in the case of the Scythic king Heraus, who uses **ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ** for his title.<sup>4</sup>

Some other inferences as to the probable periods of the

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<sup>4</sup> Supposing this distinction *always* preserved, and that we had on one side of a coin **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**, and on the other **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ**, I would admit the possibility of a difference of sense in these two titular words; but this is really by no means the rule, and it would rather seem as if the two forms were used indiscriminately or with no special signification.

reigns of these different monarchs I hold to be reasonable. Thus (1.) Monarchs who, like Diodotus, Euthydemus, Demetrius, Heliokles, and Antimachus Theos, use Greek legends on *both* obverse and reverse, may fairly be presumed to be the earliest rulers after the revolt, perhaps, to have been, in an especial sense, rulers of Bactriana; or, again, possibly, these coins represent a type struck for the Greek population only, at that time probably considerable. (2.) When we find, as we do on the longest series of coins, the legend on the obverse in Greek, and on the reverse in the Indian or Bactrian characters, we are, I think, entitled to conclude, either that the striker of the coin was of somewhat later date himself, or, as is more likely in the larger number of cases, ruled over districts in which the Greek language was but slightly known. Still further, when, towards the close of the second series, we find the Greek dying out, such Greek names and letters as still occur being obviously placed on the coins by artists who did not understand what they were copying, we may conclude that Greek influence had by this period, for all practical purposes, ceased.

So far, then, as can be inferred from the character of the letters in this legend and from the general appearance of the coin, I do not doubt that Platon ruled over some part at least of the province of Bactriana, that he was nearly connected with Eukratides and one of the princes of the Greek, or presumed earliest, class.

Let us now see whether, by looking rather more closely into the history of this portion of Western Asia, antecedently to either the Bactrian or the Parthian revolt, we can form a reasonable idea as to who this Platon really was. Now, I may remark at the commencement of this



part of my inquiry, that many of the admitted rulers of Bactriana have the same names as those of officers whom we know were present with Alexander in one or more of the nine campaigns, in the last of which he crossed and descended the Indus; and, hence, that it is not unlikely (bearing in mind the well-known *atavism* of the Greeks) that some of these princes were the direct or lineal descendants of those officers. The period of time, about seventy years, between the death of Alexander and the revolt of Diodotus is not excessive: indeed, it is quite possible for men to have been still alive under the rule of the first Bactrian king, about B.C. 256, who had seen Alexander in B.C. 326.

It is not necessary to re-open here the vexed question, which of the two revolts, that of Bactriana or that of Parthia, was the first in point of time; at the same time, I must confess that I am not convinced by General Cunningham's learned arguments, and prefer accepting Strabo's<sup>5</sup> simple and definite statement which, as it seems to me, clearly makes the Bactrian uprising precede that of Parthia. It is of more importance to notice the distinguishing characteristics of these two provinces respectively, bearing as these do directly on the character of the subsequent revolts.<sup>6</sup> Now, to begin with,

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<sup>5</sup> Strabo's words are: Πρώτον μὲν τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀπέστησαν οἱ πεπιστευμένοι . . . . ἔπειτ' Ἀρσάκης . . . . ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτῆς (xi. 9, 2); and Justin clearly implies the same thing where he says: "Theodotus . . . . defecit, regemque se appellari jussit, quod exemplum sequuti, totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere." I may add that Droysen and Lassen accept Strabo's view.

<sup>6</sup> I need not here go into the question of their respective Aryan or Turanian origin; but this much seems certain: the revolt in Bactria was an uprising of a Greek or Græcized population, under Greek leaders, against the ruling house of the Seleukidæ; on the other

the presumption is strong that, from the time of Alexander, Bactriana was left quietly under a succession of Greek rulers, in other words, that it had been treated during the whole of this period rather as a colony than as a conquered province. Indeed, we know from history, that, long before the invasion of Alexander, the government of Bactriana had been equally exceptional; and that under the Persian kings it had enjoyed from early times especial privileges, in that it was always ruled over by one of the king's sons, and was, therefore, treated as an appanage of the crown. Hence it was, that, when Alexander reduced it, after more than two years' continuous fighting, he, with his usual tact and good sense, reserved for this province only a Persian of high rank, Artabazus, as its governor, though at an age so advanced that it was shortly afterwards necessary to replace him by a younger and more vigorous ruler, Amyntas, the son of Nicolaus.

Again, we know, that Alexander founded cities in Bactriana (Strab., xi. 14), in the Paropamisus (Arrian, iv. 22), and in the adjacent province of Sogdiana (Arrian, iv. 3); that he passed his winter at Zariaspa (Bactra) during his campaign in Sogdiana; that he left his royal household there during his advance eastward; and, further, that Bactriana was subsequently made one province with Sogdiana and Margiana under Philip, and

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hand, the revolt in Parthia was that of a population slightly if at all Græcized, under a native chieftain, and against the Greeks generally. Both revolts may have been in some degree induced by the observation that the Seleukid rule was then weak, as compared with what it had been under the great Seleukus. Perhaps, too, the debased character of the then ruler, Antiochus Epiphanes, and the removal of the capital from Seleukeia to Antioch, had their several influences.

that, on his removal to Parthia by Antipater in B.C. 321, another Greek, Stasanor, became its governor. We may also infer that it did not take any open part in the great war between Eumenes and Antigonus, B.C. 317, while there is no evidence that it was in any way interfered with from this period onward for the first fifty years at least after the establishment of the Seleukidan empire in B.C. 312.

All these facts suggest the probability that Bactriana must have become to a great extent Græcized, and, therefore, that when Diodotus threw off finally the yoke of the Seleukidæ, the more important portion of the population over whom he established his authority was scarcely less Greek than many of the provinces over which the Seleukidæ themselves ruled.<sup>7</sup> We should, therefore, naturally expect to find a purely Greek character on the types of the early Bactrian coins, and should be prepared to range with them, on these grounds alone, the piece we are now considering.

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<sup>7</sup> It has become a fashion recently to extend a Greek influence to districts east of Bactria, for which I venture to think there is really but little evidence. Thus we are told that certain Buddhistic figures, chiefly in slate, procured by Dr. Leitner and others to the north-east of Peshâwar, exhibit on them manifest traces of Greek art. I am sorry to say that I cannot perceive anything of the kind; moreover, historically, I think this hypothesis can hardly be maintained. General Cunningham has shown that the actual rule of the Greeks in Bactriana did not exceed a period of 129 years; that it was overthrown by one of those Scythic invasions (of which several instances are on record) about 130 years B.C., and that it was never after this revived. My belief is that this Scythic invasion saved India from being Græcized, and that, but for it, there is no reason why Greek should not have been spoken at Pataliputra as freely as it was at Alexandria. On the other hand, it may be questioned whether Dr. Leitner's sculptures are earlier than the first or second century A.D., i.e. 200 or 300 years after the Græco-Bactrian kingdom was destroyed.

I propose, now, to take the Greek royal names occurring on coins, generally allowed to be those of Bactrian kings, and to compare them with the names recorded either in the notices of Alexander the Great, or elsewhere in Greek history, during the seventy years between his death and the revolt of Bactriana : in other words, I propose examining how far it is likely, from the identity of these names, that some of the Greek princes of that country were either grandsons or great-grandsons of the men we find so spoken of.

Now, what we know of the peculiar character of the history of Bactriana makes it probable, as I have shown, that there was in it a large and an increasing element of Greek, and, therefore, that, on the revolt taking place, the heads of great families whose ancestors in the second or third generation had been connected with Alexander would be found among the leaders of the new kingdom. I am quite ready to admit that this view is purely hypothetical ; but I venture, at the same time, to think it neither incredible nor foolish. To carry out this examination I shall notice, therefore, the first twenty princes in the order given by Mr. Thomas, it being no part of my business here to take into consideration the amended order proposed by General Cunningham, though this seems to a great extent perfectly just. In doing this, I shall mark the occurrence of the same name either in the records of Alexander, or in what is very nearly contemporary history. I have added to my list the name of Menander, partly because, historically, he is the best known of the Græco-Bactrian kings, and because, quite recently, General Cunningham has been able to throw a remarkable light on his history from Sanskrit records. To begin with :—

1. Diodotus (or Theodotus I.).—This is a common Greek name, not specially connected with the East. Athenæus, however, speaks of a Diodotus of Erythræ who wrote about Alexander (x. 434), though it is not clear exactly when he lived.

2. Agathokles.—Arrian speaks of a man of this name who came from Pydna in Macedonia, a personal friend of Alexander, and the governor of Memphis (iii. 5). Another Agathokles was eparch of Persia (or Parthia) under Antiochus II., B.C. 262—247 (Syncell. *Fragm.*, and Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1868, p. 259). A third was a Thes-salian and nearly related to Lysimachus (Athen., vi. 629; Arrian, vi. 28); while one of the officers of Alexander's fleet on the Indus was a Lysimachus, the son of Agathokles. Agathokleia, the presumed wife of Straton, is also represented by a namesake, the mistress of Ptolemy Philopator, and in Boeckh's *Corp. Insc. Græc.*, No. 619.

3. Pantaleon occurs as a Macedonian from Pydna. Arrian, iii. 5, 8.

4. Euthydemus is directly mentioned by Strabo as King of Bactria, and was, according to Polybius, of Magnesian origin. Another Euthydemus is mentioned as having been beaten by Antiochus Magnus, B.C. 293—281 (Polyb., x. 49, xi. 34).

5. Demetrius.—A name so common in Greece, that it seems hardly worth while to illustrate it any further. It appears, however, that a Demetrius was one of Alexander's bodyguards (Arrian, iii. 27); and another or the same person even more intimately connected with him (Plut., *Alex. Vit.*, 54). A third, the son of Althamenes, was a commander of the horse under Alexander: this man, according to Strabo, was the son of Euthydemus (xi. 516, xii. 557).

6. Heliokles.—For this name I have no further illustration to offer, as it does not appear to occur anywhere except on his coins: these are, however, perfectly legible. On an unique coin, procured at Tash-Khargan by the late Dr. Lord, and now in the India Office, we find Heliokles associated with a lady called Laodike, but without the fillet, the usual badge of sovereignty. As the obverse of this coin bears the titles and customary type of Eukratides, we may fairly assume that when this coin was struck Heliokles considered Eukratides as his suzerain.<sup>8</sup>

7. Eukratides.—Of this name, though purely Greek in character, the occurrence is rare. Strabo speaks of him as King of Bactriana (xi. 517), as also does Ælian (*De Nat. Anim.*, xv. 8). The only other personages of the same name I find recorded are of Bœotian or Orchomenian origin, and of a later date (Cf. Keil. *Inscr. Bœot.*, Boeckh, C. I. G. 2199).

8. Antimachus.—Though this name is common enough, I do not find it in any way connected with either Alexander or Bactriana.

9. Philoxenes, or, under the more common form, Philoxenos, occurs (1) as a Macedonian, the ruler, under

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<sup>8</sup> I much regret to say that this coin, which has naturally been long considered the gem of the collection of the India Office, is in my judgment spurious. I did not like its looks when I first saw it, and, on a recent and more minute examination of it, I have little doubt that it is a cast in lead. Of course, as a matter of history, this does not matter, as the *type* has not been forged by any modern Jew of Candahar. Moreover, it is quite possible that we may sooner or later obtain the veritable original. General Cunningham has one, which he considers genuine, and Lady Sale had one; unfortunately, however, though a considerable number of her coins came to the British Museum after the Indian Mutiny, through her daughter, Mrs. Brind, this coin was not recovered. I am bound to add that Mr. R. S. Poole, who examined this coin a few weeks since, is inclined to think it genuine.

Alexander, of the Ionians, Carians, and Lycians (Arist., *Œcon.*, 5 ; Diod. Sic., xviii. 99 ; Plut., *Alex.*, Vit., 22).

(2) As a son of Ptolemy, to whom Alexander is said to have written a letter (Athen., i. 22 ; Arrian, iii. 16). A third Philoxenos was employed by Alexander to collect treasures on the march from the Phœnician seaboard into Asia (Arrian, iii. 6). Another, perhaps the one first named, is stated to have come from Caria (as Menander did from Lydia) just before Alexander's death (Arr., vii. 24).

10. Nikias, a common enough Greek name, is noted by Arrian as that of one of the civil functionaries attached to the person of Alexander (II., 17, 9). Another Nikias was a kinsman of Ptolemy (Plut., *Cat. Min.*, 39).

11. Lysias, a not uncommon Greek name, is mentioned as that of a captain-general under Seleukos (Polyæn., iv. 9, 5). Another Lysias was an administrator of Syria (Polyb., xxxi. 15). A third, the trusty friend of Antiochus (Appian. *Syr.*, 6).

13. Antialkidas is found only on the coins struck by the King of Bactriana of this name. Under the more common form of Antalkidas the name is not rare ; but is rendered of less pleasant memory by the disgraceful treaty known after the Bœotian of that ilk.

14. Epander, under the form \*Επαυδρος, in like manner, is only found on coins (Mionn., iii. 193).

15. Antimachus II. (see remarks above on Antimachus I.).

16. Apollodotus is not noticed, except in the "Periplus," where it is stated that his coins are still in circulation at Barygaza (Beroach), towards the end of the second cent. A.D., if that be, as seems most probable, the date of the Greek merchant (Arrian) to whom this treatise is attributed.

17. Zoilos.—This name does not, I believe, occur except as the father of Mylleas, one of the captains of Alexander's fleet, a Macedonian from Berrhœa; and, in classical history, as Homero-mastix: the same may be said of (18) Diomedes and of (19) Archebius. Neither of these names are noticed, so far as I am aware, as in any way connected with the East.

20. Straton occurs frequently. Thus he is a King of Sidon (Marm. Oxon. No. xxiv., Curt. iv. 1), of Tyre (Diod., xvii. 47), the son of Gerostratus (Ger-Astoreth), and a Prince of Aradus (Arrian, ii. 13). Indeed, the name is so common in Syria one might almost think it was a Dynastic title.

21. Menander is a common name; but there is also a Menander from Magnesia, a commander under Alexander and Antigonus (Arrian, iv. 13, vii. 24; Plut., Vit. Eumen., c. 9). Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, also speaks of a Menander, but he may be the same as the one noticed above; while Arrian speaks of a young man of the same name in Bactriana (iv. 13), and states, elsewhere, that he brought up troops from the sea to<sup>3</sup> Babylon a little while before Alexander's death (vii. 24).<sup>9</sup>

Now, without at all wishing to strain the inference I propose to draw from the above list, I think I am entitled to call it a remarkable fact, that, of the names preserved on the coins, so many are in some way or other in close connection with Alexander, while Pantaleon, Euthydemus, Lysias, and Straton are so recorded, that we may suppose them with him in some part of his campaigns.

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<sup>9</sup> It is also noteworthy that one of Alexander's fleet-captains is said to have been Mandrogenes the son of Mæandrus: ought we not, therefore, to read here Menandros, as he also is said to have come from Magnesia?



It appears, therefore, to me not unlikely that one or more of these officers may have returned to Bactriana or to the immediate neighbourhood, after his death, either in actual command or as *emeriti*, and that thus, in the third generation, their descendants with the same name may have been in a position to claim the actual rule of the province, or to have been associated together in its government.<sup>10</sup>

It is, indeed, quite credible that they may have been among the leading Greek families who urged or aided Diodotus to throw off the yoke of the Seleukidæ. I may add that there is the name of another Bactrian king, Amyntas, which recalls that of the officer by whom Alexander replaced his first Persian satrap of the province, Artabazus, who was himself, as I have stated, on his transfer at a later period to the satrapy of Parthia, succeeded by another Greek, Stasanor. It will be remembered that Amyntas was left in charge of Bactriana when Alexander advanced upon the Indus.

When, therefore, I find in Curtius the following passage, "*Peditum erant quinque millia, equites mille, utrisque Plato Atheniensis præerat*" (v. 7), introduced as it is into the story of the progress of Alexander just as he was pressing on in pursuit of Darius, after the burning of Persepolis, I hold I am justified in suggesting that the royal personage on the coin under consideration may have been a descendant of this officer. I may observe, further, that the name Plato was not a common one in

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<sup>10</sup> It is not necessary for the argument of this paper to inquire whether these officers retired to Bactriana or into one of the adjacent provinces as veterans, *emeriti*, or of their own choice. All I urge is, that certain Greek names are found among the people about Alexander, and that the same Greek names are those of Bactrian kings from seventy to a hundred years later. I venture to think that this is not merely a *coincidence*.

Greek, indeed, it only occurs five or six times; but that, in the list of the officers of Alexander's fleet, a Critobulos, the son of Platon, a Coan, is mentioned; and this is, so far as it goes, an additional link in the chain of evidence confirmatory of the hypothesis I have put forth in this paper.

It has been noticed by several writers that, of the thirty-two captains of Alexander's fleet on the Indus twenty-four were Macedonians, two from Thessaly and Thrace respectively, four from the islands of Cos, Teos, and Cyprus, and two from Magnesia and Ionia; the republicans of Athens, Sparta, and other parts of Southern Greece, having apparently kept, and very naturally, clear of any participation with Alexander's Eastern expedition. I believe that this Platon is the only Athenian recorded as having been engaged in it, and that there are grounds for supposing, if my theory is not a mere fancy, that he was ultimately one of the settlers in Bactriana.

In conclusion, I will only add, that I cannot discuss here the question of the duration of the Greek dynasty in Bactriana, which has been so ably and so fully dealt with by General Cunningham; and that, by the addition of the name and coin of Platon, we obtain the certainty of another ruler, whose money, in type and in other respects, is as purely Greek as that of Diodotus.

W. S. W. VAUX.

## II.

### LYCCEIOS, DYNASTE DES PÉONIENS.

DIODORE de Sicile raconte, xvi. 4, qu'en 359, l'année même de son avènement au trône de la Macédoine, Philippe II, informé de la mort d'Agis roi des Péoniens, se hâta de faire une incursion dans leur pays qui touchait à ses états et réussit à les mettre sous sa dépendance. Il paraît que le successeur d'Agis tâcha bientôt de recouvrer son indépendance. Du moins le même historien nous le montre, xvi. 22, trois ans plus tard en 356, se liguant avec le roi des Thraces et celui des Illyriens, dans l'espoir que leurs troupes réunies pourraient tenir tête au puissant roi de Macédoine, auquel ils n'étaient pas de force à résister chacun séparément.

Mais Philippe déjoua leurs projets en les attaquant avant qu'ils eussent pu se réunir et les obligea si bien de rentrer sous la domination macédonienne (Isocrat., Philip. § 21), que ce ne fut qu'après sa mort qu'une nouvelle insurrection eut lieu, qui fut comprimée par Alexandre en 335, la seconde année de son règne (Diodor. xvii. 8).

Diodore ne nous a pas transmis les noms des rois qui firent cause commune contre Philippe, mais une inscription, dont un fragment a été trouvé dans l'Acropole d'Athènes et qui a été publiée dernièrement dans l'Ephéméris Archéologique d'Athènes (nouv. série, livr. 17, 1874, pp. 451—454, pl. 67), vient suppléer d'une



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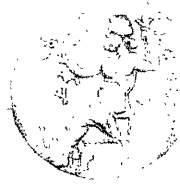
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manière très-heureuse au silence de l'historien. Elle nous apprend qu'en cette même année 356, les Athéniens ont conclu un traité d'alliance avec trois dynastes, Cétriporis et ses frères, Lyppeios et Grabos l'Illyrien, et l'éditeur a parfaitement raison d'identifier ces trois personnages avec les rois des Thraces, des Péoniens et des Illyriens, mentionnés par Diodore, et de suppléer les lacunes de l'inscription de la manière suivante :—

2. Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Κετρίπορ [ἢ τὸν Θράκα καὶ το-
3. ὡς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πρὸς Λύππειον τὸν [Παίονα καὶ πρὸς Γρά-
4. βον τὸν Ἰλλυρίον. Ἐπὶ Ἑλπίνου ἀρχο[ντος, etc.

et plus loin

10. , συνθέσθαι καὶ τὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων
11. . . . . Θράκ ?]ῶν Κετρίποριδι καὶ [τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ Λ
12. υππείῳ τῷ Παίονι καὶ Γράβῳ [τῷ Ἰλλυριῷ, etc.

Grabos apparaît ici pour la première fois, mais Cétriporis nous était déjà connu par la belle découverte de M. W. H. Waddington (Rev. Num. 1863, p. 240), qui a eu l'heureuse idée de retirer les monnaies à la légende **ΚΕΤΡΙΠΟΡΙΟΣ** (Pl. I. 1) de celle de Céos pour les donner à un des nombreux dynastes Thraces, dont les historiens ont passé les noms sous silence, mais que les monnaies et les inscriptions viennent de temps en temps nous révéler. La nouvelle inscription vient donner une confirmation éclatante à cette hypothèse si ingénieuse et en même temps elle donne raison à M. F. Bompis, qui avait proposé (Des Médailles restituées par M. F. Lenormant à Lyncus, 1867, p. 33) de voir dans Lycceios, autre roi dont le nom n'était connu que par ses monnaies, le successeur immédiat du roi des Péoniens Agis et surtout elle prouve, une fois de plus, le grand tact numismatique d'Eckhel, qui en publiant la première monnaie de Lycceios, a d'abord reconnu que c'était à la Péonie qu'il fallait la classer.

Il est vrai que le nom de ce roi n'est pas écrit de la même manière dans l'inscription et sur les monnaies réunies dans la planche qui accompagne le Mémoire de M. F. Lenormant, *Revue Numism.* 1866, et celui de M. Bompois. L'inscription dit **ΑΥΓΓΕΙΟΝ** et les monnaies **ΑΥΚΚΕΙΟΥ** (Pl. I. 3, 4), mais il s'agit pourtant du même personnage et ce qui le prouve, c'est un statère de ma collection qui fournit la forme originale **ΑΥΚΓΕΙΟ**, d'où dérivent à ce qu'il paraît les deux autres (Pl. I. 2). Si les Athéniens avaient connu le nom sous la forme *Λύκκειος*, nul doute qu'ils ne l'eussent adoptée, tandis qu'il est assez naturel qu'ils aient adouci *Λύκπειος*, qui leur aura semblé trop dur, en assimilant le *κ* au *π*. En Péonie au contraire, le *π* a fait place au *κ* quand de nouvelles émissions de numéraire ont eu lieu, probablement pour rendre le nom plus conforme à l'orthographe grecque et peut-être aussi pour l'assimiler autant que possible à l'épithète *Λύκειος* d'Apollon, dont la tête laurée forme le type du droit de toutes les espèces (v. Bompois, p. 47). Les lettres *π* et *κ* s'échangeaient du reste assez souvent dans le nord de la Grèce. Ainsi *Κύδνα* en Macédoine était mieux connue sous le nom de *Πύδνα*, v. Steph. Byz. s.v., et une autre ville située en face de l'île de Thasos, est nommée tantôt *Πίστυρος* ou *Πύστιρος* et tantôt *Κύστιρος*, v. U. Koehler, *Urkunden zur Gesch. des Delisch-Attischen Bundes*, p. 177.

Voici la description de mon statère :

*Obv.*—Tête laurée d'Apollon à gauche.

*Rev.*—(Λ)ΥΚΓΕΙΟ. Hercule nu et barbu debout à droite, étouffe dans ses bras le lion de Nemée.  
*R.* 5½, fruste, poids 13.15 gram. = 208 grs. angl.  
 (Pl. I. 2).

La tête d'Apollon, prototype de celle des statères de Pa-

traos, successeur immédiat à ce que l'on croit de Lyceios, est de très-bon style et paraît empruntée à la tête du même dieu, qui se voit sur les monnaies émises à Olynthe par les Chalcidéens. La pose d'Hercule est bien plus noble que sur les statères publiés par Eckhel, de Cadalvène et Lenormant. Elle accuse la main d'un artiste grec du premier ordre. S'il est permis de voir dans ce statère la première monnaie de son genre frappée en Péonie, il est assez naturel de penser que le roi Lyceios en établissant un atelier monétaire dans ses états ait commandé les premiers coins à l'étranger, peut-être à Olynthe, tandis que les émissions suivantes porteraient l'empreinte de coins gravés par des artistes qu'il avait pris à son service. Ce qui me confirme dans l'opinion que mon statère est antérieur aux autres, c'est qu'il pèse encore 13·15 grammes, quoiqu'il porte les indices d'avoir été longtemps en circulation, tandis que les deux pièces dont le poids a été publié, ne pèsent que 12·74 grammes (= 196·6 gr., Borrell, Num. Chron. iv. 1841, p. 10) et 12·57 (= 194 gr., n. 31, Catal. Ivanoff). Ensuite, que la terminaison du génitif est en **O**, ce qui ne se retrouve que sur un des quarts de statère (Rev. Num. 1866, pl. I, n. 2), tandis que les autres pièces présentent toutes la forme plus récente **OY**.

Du reste, les monnaies de Lyceios ont le même poids que celles de ses successeurs Patraos et Audoléon. Ce sont des statères de 13·15 à 12·57 sous Lyceios<sup>1</sup> (Pl. I, 2, 3)

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<sup>1</sup> C'est à dessein, que je n'ai pas fait usage du poids de 214·5 grs. Angl. (= 13·89 grammes) donné à un statère de Patraos dans le Catalogue d'une vente à Londres, 2 février, 1863, No. 104, de crainte qu'il ne s'agisse d'une faute d'impression pour 204·5 grs. (= 13·25 grammes).

NOTE.—Je ne vois aucune raison de se méfier du poids du statère mentionné par M. Six dans la note précédente (214·5 grs. Angl.), vu que presque tous les poids des statères péoniens sont



de 13·056 à 12·07 sous Patraos (Pl. I. 5), de 12·93 à 12·3 sous Audoléon (Pl. I. 8); des quarts de statère de 3·11 à 2·947 sous Lyceios (Pl. I. 4), de 3·37 à 2·94 sous Patraos (Pl. I. 6), de 3·08 à 2·6 sous Audoléon (Pl. I. 9), enfin des sixièmes de statère de 2·07 à 1·91 sous Lyceios, de 2·16 à 1·925 sous Patraos (Pl. I. 7) et de 2·07 à 1·885 sous Audoléon (Pl. I. 10). Le type du lion courant que Lyceios avait adopté pour ses premiers quarts de statère, n'a pas été conservé par ses successeurs immédiats, mais il se retrouve un demi-siècle plus tard sur les bronzes de Lysimaque, qui après la mort d'Audoléon s'empara de ses états. Il y a là une coïncidence qui pourrait bien n'être pas fortuite. On n'a pas retrouvé jusqu'ici de monnaies en bronze de Lyceios et celles qu'il est d'usage de classer à Patraos, sont bien postérieures à ce roi, car l'une d'elles, au type de la tête de Jupiter, rev. : aigle à droite, sur le foudre, *Æ.* 3½, de ma collection, se trouve être surfrappée sur un des bronzes au type du casque macédonien acosté de **BA—ΣΙ**, qui ont toujours au droit le bouclier macédonien garni au centre du monogramme d'Antigone ou de celui de Démétrius.

Les dynastes de la Péonie ne portent le titre de roi, ni sur les monnaies, ni sur l'inscription athénienne. Ce ne fut qu'à la fin de sa vie qu'Audoléon, qui avait profité des circonstances pour se rendre indépendant, suivit l'exemple que les successeurs d'Alexandre avaient donné depuis l'an 306 et dès lors le titre royal accompagne son nom, tant sur

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trop forts pour se ranger au système éginétique. Dans ce cas il serait prouvé que le système asiatique (quoiqu'un peu plus faible) était en usage dans la Péonie comme en Macédoine, et non le système éginétique, auquel on a généralement supposé avec M. Mommsen (*Ed. Blacas*, i. p. 60) que les monnaies péoniennes appartenaient.—BARCLAY V. HEAD.

son tétradrachme attique aux types d'Alexandre, qui est au British Museum (Pl. I. 11) et provient de la collection Pembroke (n. 520 du Catalogue ; Mionnet, Suppl. ii. p. 559, n. 3), que dans le décret athénien publié par M. Rhangabé, "*Antiq. Helléniq.*," ii. p. 130, n. 447, et qui date de 286, l'année de sa mort. M. Bompois n'assigne que trois ans de règne à Lyceios, mais il me semble qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de faire commencer le règne de Patraos si tôt. Les soixante-treize ans qui se sont écoulés entre la mort d'Agis en 359 et celle d'Audoléon en 286, peuvent tout aussi bien être divisés entre les trois règnes de la manière suivante :

20 ans pour Lyceios de 359 à 340 environ,

25 ans pour Patraos de 339 à 315 environ,

30 ans pour Audoléon de 315 à 286.

C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut reformer, je crois, la chronologie des rois de la Péonie que M. Ch. Lenormant a donnée dans le "*Trésor de Glypt. et de Numism.*," Rois Grecs, p. 11.

Il est à espérer que de nouvelles découvertes viendront bientôt éclaircir ce qui reste d'obscur dans l'histoire des dynastes du nord de la Grèce. En attendant, l'inscription récemment publiée m'a paru assez intéressante pour appeler l'attention des lecteurs du *Numismatic Chronicle*.

J. P. SIX.

### III.

#### SUR LES PREMIÈRES MONNAIES DE BRONZE ÉMISES À SYRACUSE.

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LETTRE DE M. J. P. SIX À M. BARCLAY V. HEAD.

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*Amsterdam, 20 Janvier, 1875.*

CHER MONSIEUR,—Parmi mes exemplaires du bronze de Syracuse que vous avez fait représenter sous le N° 14 de votre planche V., j'en ai trouvé un sur lequel la lettre P a la forme archaïque R, ce qui reporterait cette pièce à une époque antérieure à celle où vous l'avez placée.

En outre j'ai acquis récemment un bronze de Crotone au type de la tête d'Hercule, rev. **KPO** trépied, qui paraît être très-ancien, car les traits et surtout l'œil d'Hercule ont quelque chose de fort archaïque par rapport aux autres bronzes italiens. Vous dites, p. 34, note 45, qu'un de ces bronzes a été trouvé surfrappé sur un bronze de Syracuse de grand module. Dans ce cas ces bronzes de Syracuse ne peuvent pas être du temps de Timoléon, mais doivent être de date plus ancienne. Car vous savez que Denys l'ancien s'empara de Crotone vers 379, et qu'il y domina pendant 12 ans, v. Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, ii. pp. 134 et 440. C'est alors que paraissent avoir été émis les dioboles et les oboles, qui portent les types réunis de Crotone et de Syracuse, le trépied accosté de **OPQ** et la sèche, v. Sambon, *Recherches*, sec. éd., p. 325, n. 28 et 34 et C. R. <sup>\*</sup>Fox, *Uned. Greek Coins*, i. Pl. III. 23.

L'enlacement très-original des pieds de devant de la sèche sur cette dernière pièce, dû sans doute à la fantaisie du graveur, pourra servir à fixer l'époque des monnaies de Syracuse, sur lesquelles la sèche présente cette même particularité. Si le  $\varphi$  était encore en usage en 379 et que les monnaies syracusaines aient été introduites à Crotone sous Denys, il n'y aurait ce me semble, rien que de naturel d'admettre que l'introduction du  $\mathbf{K}$  date de 368, quand Crotone recouvra son autonomie, et qu'alors les bronzes étrangers furent surfrappés par les nouveaux types : tête d'Hercule, rev. trépied. Connaissez-vous une raison spéciale qui du temps de Timoléon, ait pu engager les Crotoniates à surfrapper des monnaies de Syracuse ?

Avant de vous en dire davantage au sujet de ces bronzes permettez-moi deux mots sur les petites pièces avec  $\Sigma\mathbf{YRA}$  et  $\Sigma\mathbf{YPA}$  et les deux dauphins dans la roue. Ce sont, à mon avis, des divisions des tétradrachmes gravés dans Hunter, Tab. 52, n. 19, et Tab. 53, n. 3, d'Eumène et d'Evænète, qui ont deux dauphins à l'exergue. C'est aussi l'époque que vous leur assignez et qui est confirmée par les pendants d'oreille de la déesse, qui ont la forme d'un serpent sous la Démocratie avant Denys. Par contre le bronze au carré creux, pl. V. n. 13 de votre mémoire, donne à la déesse les pendeloques de mode du temps de Denys. Si à Syracuse les déesses étaient mises à la dernière mode, ces petits détails de coiffure et de bijoux seraient l'indice le plus sûr pour nous guider dans la classification des espèces monétaires. Il est bien dommage que les têtes casquées ne portent pas de boucles d'oreilles et qu'ainsi la preuve matérielle me manque que Denys ait fait frapper des statères aux types de Corinthe. Mais quand je considère les deux monnaies d'argent appartenant à la série émise sous Timoléon et gravées dans Torremuzza,

Tab. lxx. 1 et 2, la première du Musée de Naples, n. 5362 du catal. de Fiorelli, 1870, poids, 8·5; de Luynes, Rev. Num. 1843, p. 8, n. 2, la seconde de la coll. de Luynes, Choix, pl. VII. n. 19, qui ne copient pas les types corinthiens, mais y font allusion seulement, et que je remarque l'énergie avec laquelle Denys tenta de s'emparer du commerce au nord de l'Adriatique en aidant les Pariens à coloniser Paros (Holm, ii. p. 134), en envoyant des colonies à Lissos et à Atria aux bouches du Pô, après que les Syracusains avaient déjà fondé Ancone et Issa (Holm, ii. pp. 440, 441), et comme il tâcha par ces moyens de supplanter dans l'Adriatique l'influence des Corinthiens, avec lesquels il n'était pas en bons termes à cette époque (Holm, ii. p. 136), je ne puis m'empêcher de croire que ces copies littérales des statères de Corinthe, sauf l'inscription toutefois, ont été émises dans un but commercial par Denys l'ancien et non par Timoléon, et ont dû circuler spécialement en Illyrie et dans le voisinage.

Reste à savoir si les statères à la légende **ΣΥΡΑΚΟ-ΣΙΩΝ** sont antérieurs à Denys ou bien si ce sont les premiers qu'il a fait frapper, ou encore s'il s'agit d'un adjectif, comme vous me le proposez. Je ne puis décider cette question, et me contente de remarquer, que les premiers bronzes de Pharos portent déjà la légende **ΦΑΡΙΩΝ** avec l'omega, qu'ils sont de grand module et assez épais, comme ceux de Crotone. Aurait-on attendu à Syracuse jusqu'à Timoléon pour en émettre de semblables ?

Il me semble même qu'il existe un témoignage direct qui attribue la première émission des grands bronzes à la tête de Pallas à Denys l'ancien. Je le trouve dans le passage bien connu de Pollux, ix. 79, auquel M. Holm consacre une bien longue note, ii. p. 444, sans en trouver l'explication. Pollux dit que Denys força les Syra-

cusains à se servir d'étain au lieu d'argent et que cette monnaie avait la valeur de quatre drachmes attiques (d'étain s'entend) au lieu d'une seule (drachme d'étain) qu'elle contenait en effet. Or les anciens n'employaient pas l'étain seul, que je sache, mais ils s'en servaient journellement pour faire du bronze en le mêlant au cuivre. Le cuivre que Denys a dû se procurer en grande quantité dans le nord de l'Italie, devait avoir alors peu de valeur en comparaison avec l'étain qu'il fallait acheter aux Carthaginois, avec lesquels il était sans cesse en guerre, à moins qu'il n'ait trouvé une grande quantité de ce métal dans le butin enlevé lors du sac de Motya. Vous serez donc peut-être de mon avis que dans le passage de Pollux, il s'agit d'une monnaie de bronze, dont l'étain formait l'ingrédient le plus précieux. Or les grands bronzes à la tête de Pallas pèsent environ 8 drachmes attiques = 540 gr. Supposons qu'ils contiennent une drachme d'étain et 7 drachmes de cuivre et que Denys les donna en payement comme s'ils contenaient 4 drachmes d'étain (et 4 drachmes de cuivre). Dans ce dernier cas ils auraient eu, je suppose, la valeur d'une livre de cuivre de 50 drachmes de poids, ou 3,375 gr. Donc 50 drachmes de cuivre étaient égales à 4 drachmes d'étain et un alliage de 4 drachmes de cuivre que Pollux ne compte pas. Ceci nous donne un rapport de l'étain au cuivre de 1 à 12·5 et un rapport de l'argent à l'étain de 1 à 20, puisque l'argent était au cuivre dans le rapport de 1 à 250. Si les 4 drachmes de cuivre doivent compter, ces chiffres seraient 11·5 et 21·5 au lieu de 12·5 et 20. Le résultat, d'après cette hypothèse, est que les bronzes de 8 drachmes valaient réellement 7 drachmes de cuivre et 1 drachme d'étain égale à  $12\frac{1}{2}$  drachmes de cuivre, ce qui fait ensemble  $19\frac{1}{2}$  drachmes ou juste 20 drachmes de cuivre.

si on ajoute  $\frac{1}{2}$  drachme pour les frais de monnayage. En introduisant cette nouvelle espèce, Denys aurait donc remplacé la litre d'argent égale à 50 drachmes de cuivre, par une pièce qui n'en valait que 20 ou un peu moins de la moitié, c'est-à-dire qu'il aurait fait ce que l'on fit à Rome lors de la première réduction de l'aes grave. C'est à cette même réduction de la litre à moins de sa moitié, qu'il faudra peut-être rapporter les paroles d'Aristote, Œcon. ii. p. 1349 B., que cite M. Holm, ii. p. 444 : ἐπικόψας χαρακτήρα ἐξέδωκε τὴν δραχμὴν διὰ δυναμένην δραχμὰς, car il me paraît impossible d'admettre que Denys ait fait passer ses statères corinthiens pour des tétradrachmes, ou qu'il ait donné la valeur d'un didrachme à la drachme que vous avez fait figurer pl. V. 6. Mais il peut très-bien avoir emprunté du *cuivre* brut ou en barres et avoir acquitté sa dette en espèces de *bronze* de moindre poids, sous prétexte que l'étain qu'il y avait ajouté en avait plus que doublé la valeur.

Reste le fameux passage d'Aristote conservé par Pollux, ix. 87, qui nous dit que l'ancien talent sicilien valait 24 nummi et que le talent plus récent en valait 12 et que le nummus avait la valeur d'un quart de drachme attique. M. Holm, ii. pp. 444, 445, a très-bien vu que les nummi dont 24 étaient égaux à l'ancien talent, étaient des drachmes attiques. Si donc l'ancien talent (de cuivre) valait 24 drachmes attiques et le nouveau talent ne valait que 12 quarts de drachme, c'est-à-dire 3 drachmes attiques, il y a eu une réduction de un à un huitième du poids primitif, et une telle réduction est trop forte pour avoir eu lieu en une fois et ne peut être attribuée à Denys l'ancien, qui commença la série des réductions de la litre, mais qui n'en vit pas la fin et qui d'ailleurs donnait une circulation forcée à ses litres réduites.

Les bronzes que vous décrivez pp. 30 et 32 accusent une réduction lente mais continue. C'est d'abord (n. 1) la litre de 8 drachmes (540 gr.), puis (n. 4) celle de 5 drachmes (337·5 gr.). Le n. 7 tombe de 5 à 4 drachmes (de 337·5 à 270 gr.) et le n. 8 n'a plus que le poids d'un tétradrachme. Pour trouver la litre du poids de 2 drachmes (135 gr.) qui se trouve être la huitième partie de l'ancienne litre, si l'on compte la valeur de l'étain, il faut descendre jusqu'aux premiers bronzes d'Agathocle, pl. VIII. 9 et 10. Un de mes exemplaires pèse 8·4 gr. = 130. C'est donc alors, du temps d'Aristote, que pour arrêter cette diminution incessante on aura créé le nouveau talent et établi un rapport *fixe* entre le cuivre (bronze) et l'argent, et c'est par là aussi qu'Agathocle a pu reprendre l'émission d'espèces en or et en argent *pur*. Car tant que le poids des bronzes allait en décroissant il était impossible de tenir en circulation des monnaies en argent qui auraient été fondues de suite, ce qui explique l'extrême rareté des deux pièces de Timoléon que je vous signalais tantôt, et l'absence de l'argent dans la série à la tête d'Apollon qui doit peut-être être attribuée à Denys le jeune, d'après la notice de Plutarque, De Fort Al., ii. 5, Holm, ii. 489, que ce tyran se disait fils d'Apollon, pl. VI. 1—3, 5 ; VII. 12. Mais cela fournit en même temps l'explication de l'émission si abondante de pièces d'or fortement alliées d'argent. Cette addition d'un métal moins précieux était destinée à maintenir le rapport officiel entre l'or et le cuivre, que l'affaiblissement des litres avait détruit de fait. Aussi dès qu'Agathocle put reprendre l'émission des espèces en argent, il put reprendre en même temps la frappe de monnaies en or pur.

Cette argumentation est devenue bien longue, mais je vous devais de ne pas me mettre en contradiction avec ce



que vous avancez p. 13, d'après M. Mommsen, sans vous détailler les motifs qui m'ont fait chercher une explication plus conforme aux poids des monnaies existantes, que celle du célèbre professeur de Berlin.

Il me reste à prouver que le mélange d'étain et de cuivre de 1 et 7, tel que je l'ai admis par hypothèse, a été en usage dans l'antiquité. Outre le passage de Pline, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 9, "*Miscetur et plumbi argentarii pondo duodena ac selibrae, centenis proflati*," c'est le livre de M. von Bibra, "*Die bronzen- und kupfer-Legirungen der alten Voelker*," Erlangen, 1869, qui me fournira les preuves.

M. von Bibra donne, pp. 82 à 87, l'analyse de 95 monnaies grecques, malheureusement sans les décrire et même parfois sans ajouter le nom de la ville ou du roi qui les fit frapper. En rangeant ces pièces d'après la quantité d'étain qu'elles contiennent, on voit qu'il y en a 13 sur les 95 qui contiennent plus d'un huitième d'étain, 6 qui contiennent environ un huitième et que parmi ces dernières se trouve un bronze d'Agathocle, n. 97. L'autre bronze d'Agathocle, n. 96, a un peu plus d'étain et un peu moins de cuivre. Le reste des pièces analysées au nombre de 76, renferme de l'étain en moindre quantité que  $\frac{1}{8}$  ou 12.5 pour cent.

Voici ma liste. Les numéros sont ceux de M. von Bibra :—

No.	Etain pourcent	Cuivre pourcent	Poids total en grammes	Localité.
11	16.80	81.26	3.20	Grèce.
22	15.20	83.26	5.0	
35	14.79	78.97	11.5	"
82	14.74	83.80	..	" (plomb, 5.62 pour cent).
				Philippe de Macédoine (T. d'Apol- lon; Rev., Cavalier).
75	14.55	84.25	6.01	Philippe III.
70	14.34	85.04	6.0	Alexandre le Grand.
96	14.08	81.35	6.10	Agathocle (zinc, 3.72 pour cent).
79	13.77	84.53	6.21	Antigonus Gonatas.
27	13.65	85.01	10.40	Grèce.

No.	Étain pour cent	Cuivre pour cent	Poids total en grammes	Localité.
81	13·10	85·35	..	Philippe de Macédoine (T. d'Apol- lon; Rev., Cavalier).
40	13·06	85·75	4·8	Grèce.
43	13·02	86·13	6·2	"
88	12·99	86·78	7·0	Alexandre le Grand.
97	12·73	85·71	5·88	(plomb, 1·13 pour cent).
85	12·73	86·39	5·02	"
80	12·67	85·77	6·60	Philippe V.
17	12·33	86·72	5·02	Grèce.
76	12·28	86·44	6·07	Alexandre IV.
74	12·17	85·12	5·20	Philippe III.
42	12·09	85·16	6·70	Grèce.
38	12·05	86·59	8·97	"
37	11·89	87·71	5·90	"
41	11·84	87·52	5·87	"
69	11·70	87·72	5·55	Alexandre le Grand.
52	11·58	87·89	..	Athènes.
83	11·44	87·95	..	Roi de Macédoine.
5	11·43	85·62	1·89	Grèce (plomb, 2·52 pour cent).
30	11·29	87·29	7·50	"
90	11·12	85·15	10·62	Philippe V. (plomb, 2·85 pour cent).
8	10·91	87·94	1·15	Grèce.
55	10·85	83·62	..	Athènes (plomb, 5·53 pour cent).
32	10·84	82·32	7·35	Grèce (plomb, 6 pour cent).
31	10·83	84·11	9·0	" (plomb, 4·39 pour cent).
84	10·56	89·44	4·85	Roi de Macédoine.

Voilà la longue épître sur les premiers bronzes de Syracuse, que je vous annonçais dernièrement. Si vous pouviez approuver ma conjecture en tout ou en partie, nous aurions, je crois, fait un grand pas vers l'éclaircissement d'une partie obscure de la numismatique syracusaine, et la modification qui deviendrait nécessaire dans l'ordre que vous avez adopté sur vos planches, se bornerait à la transposition de très-peu de pièces de l'époque de Timoléon à celle des Denys. En tout cas vous êtes le juge le plus compétent en cette matière et c'est pourquoi j'ai pris la liberté de vous soumettre mon hypothèse.

Recevez, cher Monsieur, mes salutations les plus cordiales.

J. P. SIX.

#### IV.

##### PLAUTIANA—A RECTIFICATION.

It has long been supposed by numismatic writers, though on very slight authority when one comes to look into the matter, that there was a Roman Empress named Plautiana, wife of Pescennius Niger, who held the East for a very brief period after the death of Commodus. Even in Eckhel's time the opinion existed, although that clearest-headed of writers did not fail to point out that it was but an opinion, and by no means fit to be ranked with facts. He cites a Greek coin bearing the inscription **ΠΕΣΚΕΝΝΙΑ·ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΝΑ·ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ**, and a Latin one reading **PESCENNIA·PLAVTIANA·AVGVSTA**. The existence of the former was proved only by the assertion of Bandelot, who omits both to mention its type and to state in what museum it was preserved. There can be little doubt that the coin was either false or wrongly read, as it has never again come to light. Coins with the Latin legend existed at Vienna and elsewhere, but Eckhel expressly states them to be false. Up to this point, then, there is no valid evidence of the existence of Plautiana; nothing is proved except that some forger believed that she existed and was the wife of Pescennius Niger. We may remark in passing that the Roman empresses did not take the names of their husbands, and



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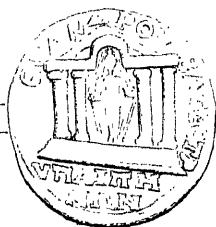
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that a Pescennia might be the daughter, but could scarcely be the wife of Niger.

At this point M. Sabatier came to the assistance of Plautiana, to save her from total expulsion from all sound works. He rightly observed<sup>1</sup> that as the coin of Bandelot was not forthcoming, and those of Eckhel undoubtedly false, there was so far no evidence. He however produced a coin which was undoubtedly true and which bore the empress's name. This is the following—

*Obv.*—ΦΟΛΑ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΝΗ CЄ. Bust of the empress, right.

*Rev.*—ΘΥΑΤ Ε ΙΡΗΝ  
ΩΝ } Eagle left, wings spread.  
Brit. Mus. Æ. .95. (Pl. II. fig. 2.)

This legend appears to prove that a Plautiana existed, but it is certainly very singular that Sabatier should still, after expressly rejecting previous evidence, suppose that she was the wife of Pescennius Niger. She might just as well, for aught that here appears, have been the wife of any other emperor, the place of mintage alone telling somewhat in favour of Niger, who certainly ruled in those parts. M. Cohen, in his complete work on the Roman coinage, admits the name of Plautiana and places it next to that of Niger.

A second coin with a similar legend has been published by Dr. Von Sallet,<sup>2</sup> after a specimen sold at the sale of Pericles Exereunetes. There is a piece similar in the British Museum.

*Obv.*—ΦΟΛΑ ΠΛΑΥ ΤΙΑΝΗCЄ. Bust of the empress, right.

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de la Société de Numismatique et d'Archéologie de St. Pétersbourg, vol. iv. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Numism. Zeitschrift, vol. iii. p. 97.

*Rev.*—**ΑΚΡΑΣ ΙΩΤΩΝ**. Artemis Ephesia, between two stags. Brit. Mus. *Æ*. 95. (Pl. II. fig. 8.)

Dr. Von Sallet, however, observes that we have no right to make a new Empress of Plautiana. He identifies her with Plautilla, first wife of Caracalla, who was the daughter of Plautianus, and might therefore be naturally supposed by distant provincials to bear the same name as her father. What was suspected by the ingenuity of Von Sallet, I am able, by the aid of some unpublished coins, to prove beyond all denial. These I will describe before pointing out their bearing on the matter in hand.

1. *Obv.*—**ΦΟΥΛ ΛΑΥΤΙΑΝΗ ΣΕ**. Bust of the empress, right. (In field countermark, Hera Parthenia.)

*Rev.*—**ΕΝΑΝΔ ΡΟΥΒΑΚΚΟΤΡ  
ΥΠΑΙΠΗ  
ΝΩΝ** } Hera Parthenia  
in tetrastyle  
temple. Brit.  
Museum. *Æ*. 1.15. (Pl. II. fig. 5.)

2. *Obv.*—**ΦΟΥΛ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΝΗ · Σ ·** Bust of the empress, right.

*Rev.*—**ΕΠΙΜ ΕΝΑΝ ΔΡΟ Υ ΒΑΚΚΙΑ ΤΡ  
ΥΠΑΙΠΗ  
ΝΩΝ**

Young emperor left, wearing cuirass and paludamentum, sacrificing at altar with patera; behind, Nike crowning him with wreath, and holding in left palm. Brit. Mus. *Æ*. 1.2. (Pl. II. fig. 6.)

This increases the number of coins bearing the name Plautiana to four. And when we compare them with those which bear the name of Plautilla, we shall find abundance of evidence that these persons were not different. With the coin of Thyatira (Pl. II. fig. 2) compare the following (Mionnet, iv. p. 166):—

*Obv.*—**ΦΟΥΛ · ΠΛΑΥΤ · Α**. Tête de Plautilla, à droite; devant, une contremarque.

*Rev.*—ΟΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ. Aigle, les ailes éployées, vu de face et regardant à gauche.

With the coin of Acrasia (Pl. II. fig. 3) compare this:—

*Obv.*—ΦΟΥΛ · ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ · CEB. Tête de Plautilla, à droite; derrière, une contremarque.

*Rev.*—ΑΚΡΑΣΙΩΤΩΝ. Diane d'Éphèse debout; à ses pieds, deux cerfs.

Here we have close correspondence, but a still more exact and important correspondence exists between my No. 1 (Pl. . fig. 5) and the following:—

*Obv.*—ΦΟΥΛΒΠΛΑΥ ΤΙΛΛΑ CEB. Bust of the empress, right. (In field, countermark, Hera Parthenia.)

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙΜΕΝΑΝ ΔΡΟΝ ΒΑC C C T P } Hera Parthenia in  
 ΥΠΑΙΠΗ }  
 ΝΩΝ } tetrastyle  
 temple. Brit. Mus. Æ. 1.2. (Pl. II. fig. 4.)

Here we have not only an identity of types, but even the same prætor's name. These magistrates were probably annually appointed, at all events they succeeded each other rapidly, for we find in the list of Mionnet, which is far from complete, nine names from the reign of Commodus to that of Caracalla. Thus the data is accurately fixed, and it is all but proved that Plautilla and Plautiana were reigning at the same time, and so can scarcely have been different persons. I say "all but" and "scarcely" because in this case, as in almost all others, absolute proof is scarcely attainable. Thus it is of course possible that Menander, son of Bassias, may have been twice prætor at intervals of some years; or again, it is possible that the magistrate of the one coin may be the grandson of the magistrate of the other. But these



hypotheses, in themselves most improbable, become untenable when we consider the other features of the coins. They are of the same fabric and period of art, and in the cities of Lydia, art degenerated at so rapid a rate after the second century that this indication alone possesses some value. The types are the same, and the countermarks apparently produced by the very same punch. And above all, the portraits are intended, almost beyond a doubt, for the same person. This is rendered less evident because the head on the coin inscribed *Plautiana* has been tooled,<sup>3</sup> so that the expression is lost. But the style of coiffure, a certain test of the period of Roman empresses, is identical, and the general appearance very similar. The fact, too, that the same formula, beginning with **ΦΟΛΑ** or **ΦΟΛΑΒ** and ending with **CE** or **CEB**, is employed, also carries weight. To make the chain of proof complete I have to add but one link, a coin similar to the second above published (Pl. II. fig. 6).

*Obv.*—**ΑΥΚ · Μ · ΑΥ · ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC**. Bust of Caracalla, right, laureated, with paludamentum and cuirass.

*Rev.*—**ΥΠΑ Ι ΠΗΝΩΝ** Caracalla, left, wearing paludamentum and cuirass, sacrificing at altar with patera; behind, Nike, crowning him with wreath, and holding in left palm. Brit. Mus. Æ. 1·1.

In the first place we find here once more the name of Menander, son of Bassias, and thus the date of all our coins is fixed to a moderate certainty within the reign of Caracalla. And secondly this type is a very remarkable one; I do not think it occurs in any reign at Hypæpa

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<sup>3</sup> This tooling does not extend to the inscription, which is worn but legible.

except this. It alludes to the Parthian victories of Severus. The figure of the sacrificing emperor should be specially noticed. In both coins the figure is apparently the same, certainly in both the figure is youthful, and cannot possibly represent Niger, who was a man in middle life during his short reign. Caracalla, on the other hand, was but fourteen years old when he espoused Plautilla, nor did their connection last many months. The boyish figure of Caracalla here is very like the representation of him on the denarius of Plautilla (Pl. II. fig. 1), which I have had engraved for comparison. But if the sacrificer be Caracalla—and he could scarce possibly be any one else save Elagabalus—the head of the obverse of my coin No. 2 (Pl. II. fig. 6) must of course be that of his wife Plautilla.

These circumstances, taken all together, afford strong proof of the identity of Plautilla and Plautiana. I will add but one argument, which is derived from the improbability of two names so similar, and with the same gentile name Fulvia, belonging to different persons. I have brought forward all the evidence I could because it certainly is a rare, almost an unheard-of thing, for an actually wrong name to appear in coinage as that of one of the Imperial family. In diminution of this wonder, however, it should be observed that all the coins inscribed Plautiana were struck in Lydia, a remote province of the empire; also that Plautilla was the daughter of the noted Plautianus, as I have already observed, whose name was current over the whole world. What more natural than that the people of Lydia, being over-eager to strike coins at once in the name of the young princess, did not wait to find out accurately what it was. They seem to have done what they could to remedy the error. In almost if

not quite every case they seem to have destroyed the blundered die, and caused another to be engraved similar to it in every respect, only with the name of the princess set right.

I confess myself unable to explain one phenomenon, why the forgers chose the name Plautiana to couple with that of Pescennia on the coins mentioned by Eckhel. It is obvious that the motives of these people are not always easy to discover. It is possible that they may have seen and improved on the piece of Thyatira above described. However this be, there is certainly no evidence left for retaining a Plautiana in Roman history. Possibly the history of her rise and fall may be of service in warning numismatists of the danger of interpolating new personages into history on the authority of a slight variety in legend or in portrait.

PERCY GARDNER.

## V.

### JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1864.

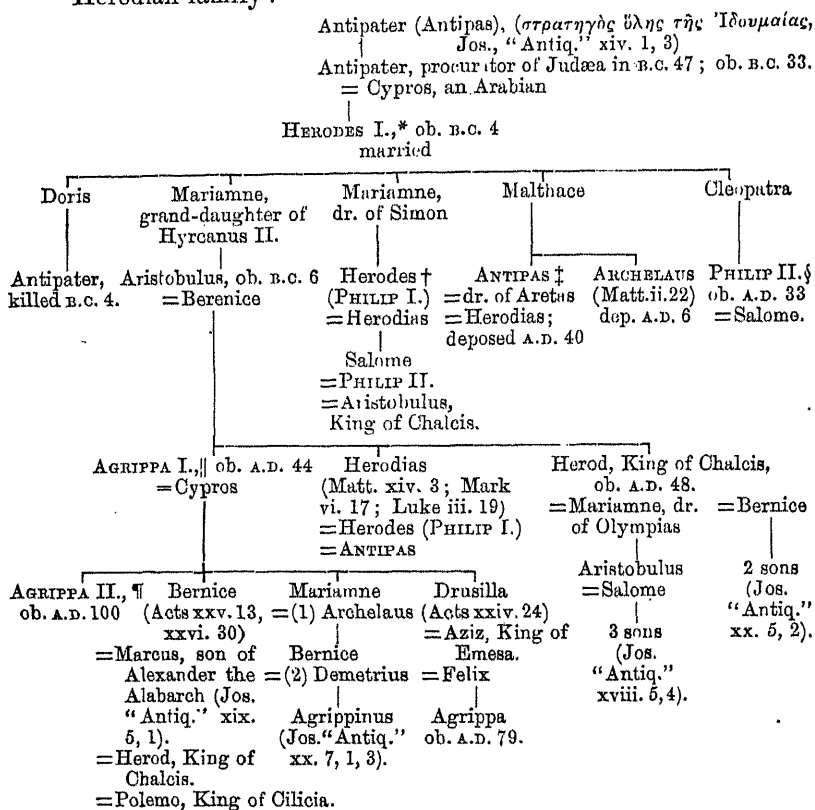
#### § III. COINS OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY.<sup>1</sup>

It may be interesting, previous to entering on this portion

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<sup>1</sup> Since this and later sections of these series of papers were written, which was many months since, I became acquainted with Mr. T. Lewin's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul" (London, 1874), in the preface of which I read, much to my surprise, as follows:—"I much regret that Sir F. Madden and J. Yonge Akerman are no longer living to accept my gratitude for similar favours received at their hands." This error in confounding my works with those of my father, Mr. Lewin has promised to correct in future editions, and I now mention it merely to prevent its farther propagation. From a perusal of Mr. Lewin's handsome volumes I obtained a reference to another valuable work by him, entitled "Fasti Sacri; a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament" (London, 1865), which I have since procured, and which has, in most cases, corroborated many conclusions, dates, &c., at which I had previously arrived. It would be here out of place to review Mr. Lewin's important work "The Life of St. Paul;" but I do not quite understand the principle on which the selection of many of the coins has been made. For instance, whilst many coins are given from the British Museum, why should the common *denarius* of Tiberius (vol. i. p. 22) be given from J. Y. Akerman, as if specimens did not exist in the national collection; and why should many coins be engraved from Pellerin, from the Pembroke Catalogue

of our subject, to give a curtailed genealogical table of the Herodian family :—



\* Herod the King (Matt. ii. 1; Luke i. 5).

† Philip (I.), (Matt. xiv. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19).

‡ Herod the Tetrarch (Matt. xiv. 1, 3; Luke iii. 1, 19, ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1). Herod (Luke viii. 3). The King (Matt. xiv. 9). King Herod (Mark vi. 14).

§ Philip (II.) the Tetrarch (Luke iii. 1).

¶ King Agrippa (Acts xxv. 13; xxvi. 2 seq.)

and other obsolete authorities, when, in most cases, examples from which proper engravings might have been made are either in existence, or may be found better described in later numismatic publications? If this system had been adopted it would have immeasurably enhanced the value of the work.

A. HEROD I., SURNAMED THE GREAT.<sup>2</sup>

B.C. 37—B.C. 4.

No coins of Herod I. of special novelty have been discovered since the publication of my book. In 1871, M. de Saulcy published<sup>3</sup> a few interesting varieties, which either corrected or added to the list of those already known. One of them is worthy of record here. The coin of Herod (No. 16 in my book), which I published from Mr. Reichardt's paper in the *NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE*,<sup>4</sup> is described as follows:—

*Obv.*— . . . . ΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. An *acrostolium*.

*Rev.*—Type not quite clear.

A well-preserved specimen in M. de Saulcy's collection enabled him to rectify this description.

<sup>2</sup> Herod I. is not called *great* on his coins. Josephus ("Antiq." xviii. 5, 4) gives him the title of *great*, but Ewald ("Geschichte," &c., vi. p. 473, *note*) suggests that this surname is only intended to mean *elder*, to distinguish him from the younger Herod (Antipas), and compares the cases of Ἐλκίας ὁ μέγας (Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 8, 4) and Agrippa the Great (Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4; cf. "Vit." 9), in contradistinction to Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure (Jos., "Antiq." xx. 8, 11), and to Agrippa II. The title "Agrippa the Great" is confirmed by coins on which he is styled ΜΕΓΑΣ (see under Agrippa I., F., No. 2), and so says Ewald (*loc. cit.*), "It may similarly have been given upon the coins of Herod, and from this the origin of the surname may have been derived." Jost, in his "Geschichte des Judenthums" (p. 319, *note*), in speaking of "the tyrannical government of Herod, whom history called, as it were in derision, the *Great*," says, "Perhaps this (the title *Great*) arises from a mistaken translation of רב, which may also mean the *elder*." He does not, however, say from what source he obtains this word. (Cf. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 82, and Art. *Herodian Family*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Literature," new edit., 1869.)

<sup>3</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 271.

*Obv.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] ΗΡΩΔΟΥ.** An *acrostolium*; in the field, to left, **Λ. Γ.** (year 3); to right, the monogram **Ρ.**

*Rev.*—A palm or an ear of corn.

The specimens given by De Saulcy (Nos. 56—58 *bis*) cannot be accepted as coins of Herod I. till better examples are found, and the legends established with greater certainty.

A specimen of the coin with the Macedonian shield,<sup>5</sup> weighing only 41·9 grs., or half the usual weight, and without the monogram **Ρ.**,<sup>6</sup> was published by M. Reichardt in 1864.<sup>7</sup>

The attribution of the coins, given by De Saulcy<sup>8</sup> to Herod I., to Herod of Chalcis by Cavedoni and Levy, and so published in my work,<sup>9</sup> was contested by De Saulcy,<sup>10</sup> who denied that a single specimen had ever been found at Jerusalem.

In 1865, in my reply to De Saulcy's observations,<sup>11</sup> I agreed with him on this point, and considered that the coins ought to be restored to Herod I. The late Dr. Levy was also of this opinion.

With respect to their type, whether it be a cornu-

<sup>5</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 85, No. 3.

<sup>6</sup> This monogram has been supposed by the late Cavedoni and the late Dr. Rapp to represent the *crux ansata*. I am rather inclined to consider it, with De Saulcy, as being put for **ΤΡ[ί]χαλκος**, and the piece belonging to Mr. Reichardt, without the monogram, and weighing 41·9 grs., may be a specimen of the **Δί-χαλκον**. (F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 206, *note*.)

<sup>7</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 184; cf. Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 206, *note*.

<sup>8</sup> "Num. Jud.," p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 112. Mr. Lewin has so quoted them in his "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, p. 19 (*tirage à part*).

<sup>11</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 207.

copiæ, as De Saulcy says, or a horn of an ox, as Cavedoni, I cannot say, but De Saulcy seems to have settled this question to his own satisfaction by engraving one of these coins with what appear to be three large "fruits" at the mouth of the cornu-copiæ.<sup>12</sup> He accompanies his opinion with the following statement:—"Voilà donc encore une question jugée; et je l'avoue, je crois qu'en numismatique on a souvent tort de quintessencier à propos des types dont les inventeurs n'ont pas eu, tant s'en faut, les idées prétentieuses qu'on leur prête gratuitement." What a delicious hit at the late Abbé!

#### B. HEROD ARCHELAUS.

B.C. 4—A.D. 6.

M. de Saulcy, in 1871,<sup>13</sup> published a few varieties of the coins of this prince. His remark respecting the trident in front of the prow, on some of the coins of Archelaus,<sup>14</sup> is, as I have in a previous paper stated,<sup>15</sup> very probable. M. de Saulcy suggests that it is only an  $\omega$  (omega), and that this letter is a portion of the word  $\text{HP}\omega\Delta$ .

In 1872, M. de Saulcy published a paper<sup>16</sup> "on some

<sup>12</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, Pl. XVI. No. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> De Saulcy, "Num. Jud.," Pl. VII. No. 2; F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 92, No. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1872, vol. xii. p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> "Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique," 1869, vol. iii. p. 25). The coins here attributed to Salome are those having the type of two cornua-copiæ, and the head of Augustus and the letters **AC**. On one piece, in the possession of M. Walcker, there are the letters **IA** instead of **AC**. These De Saulcy interprets **IA[MNEIAS]**, and it is known that Herod I. left by will to Salome, his sister, Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasælis (Jos., "Antiq." xvii. 8, 1), which was confirmed by



coins of Ascalon struck during the reign of Herod, then by Salome his sister, and by Archelaus," in which he attributes some pieces to Archelaus, notably those coins bearing the type of a *caduceus*. On one of the coins of Ascalon there is the letter **Ε** as well as the letters **ACK**, and this letter M. de Saulcy considers to be the initial of the title **ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΣ**.

It may, however, be observed that in M. de Saulcy's new work on the "Coins of the Holy Land," published in 1874,<sup>17</sup> no mention is made of these attributions.

This prince is called *Archelaus* by St. Matthew and Josephus, and *Herod* by Dion Cassius.<sup>18</sup>

Augustus ("Antiq.," xvii. 11, 4), and which possessions Salome, who died during the procuratorship of M. Ambivius, A.D. 9—12 or A.D. 10—13 ("Antiq.," xviii. 2, 2), bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus ("Bell. Jud.," ii. 9, 1).

<sup>17</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 178. It is much to be regretted, as the reviewer of this work in the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S., 1874, vol. xiv. p. 158) has pointed out, that De Saulcy has omitted to make any reference in the text to the plates, nor is there any index to the plates themselves. In the preface to this handsome volume there is one sentence *at least* to which exception must be taken. M. de Saulcy writes:—"J'ai commencé par les monnaies judaïques, et j'ai dû croire que j'avais eu une idée heureuse, puisque l'apparition de mon livre a immédiatement provoqué, en Italie, en Allemagne et en Angleterre, des publications pour ainsi dire calquées sur la mienne." De Saulcy's work was published in 1854. In Italy the late Abbé Cavedoni published, in 1849, a "Numismatica Biblica," which was continued in 1850, and in 1855, an "Appendix" to the same, all of which were translated into German by A. von Werlhof in 1855 and 1856 ("Vita ed Opere di Monsignor Cavedoni," pp. 78, 79, 83. Modena, 1866). Dr. Levy's work, in Germany, did not appear till 1862; whilst, in England, my volume was not published till 1864, ten years after the production of De Saulcy's volume! How then can we accept the expression "a *immédiatement provoqué*, en Italie, en Allemagne et en Angleterre," &c.?

<sup>18</sup> Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῆνός, lib. lv. 57.

## C. HEROD ANTIPAS.

B.C. 4—A.D. 40.

Some varieties of the coins of Herod Antipas were published by De Saulcy in 1871,<sup>19</sup> including the following unpublished specimen :—

*Obv.*—A gauche **HPΩΔΟΥ**. Palme garnie de dix folioles recourbées, apposées deux à deux tout le long de la tige. A droite et à gauche **L. Λ H.**

*Rev.*—**TIBE—PIAC** en deux lignes dans une couronne.

If the date **Λ H** (38) is correctly read on this coin, it will correspond to A.D. 34—35. There is no reason why a coin with such a date should not exist (see the Table at the end of Section E). M. de Saulcy, however, adds to his description, “date un peu douteuse.”

The earliest known coin of Antipas bears the date **Λ Γ** (33), and was struck in A.D. 29—30. The latest has been supposed to be that having the date **Μ Γ** (43), corresponding to A.D. 39—40. A coin has, however, been published by Vaillant and Galland bearing the date **Μ Δ** (44). This has been condemned.<sup>20</sup> A more strict examination of the question (in which I have been aided by Mr. Lewin’s valuable researches<sup>21</sup>) seems to prove that the rejection of a coin with this date is incorrect. Herod Antipas was deposed in the *fourth year* of the reign of Agrippa I. over the tetrarchy of Trachonitis;<sup>22</sup> and

<sup>19</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 254.

<sup>20</sup> Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 486; F. W. Madden, “Hist. of Jew. Coinage,” p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> “Fasti Sacri,” p. xiii.; p. 260, No. 1,561; p. 265, No. 1,592; p. 268, No. 1,610. Longmans. 1865.

<sup>22</sup> Τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, Jos., “Antiq.” xix. 8, 2. See under Agrippa I., and Table at end of section E.

Agrippa I. had this tetrarchy conferred upon him a few days after the arrival of Caligula at Rome, and therefore about April, A.D. 37.<sup>23</sup> The *fourth year* would thus be comprised between April, A.D. 40 and April, A.D. 41, so that if Antipas was banished shortly after April, A.D. 40, there is no reason for objecting to the issue of a piece in *Judæa* bearing the date **L. MΔ** (year 44), whilst Antipas was absent on his trial. Mr. Lewin is of opinion that Antipas was banished to Spain, not at Baïæ in A.D. 39, but in Gaul in A.D. 40;<sup>24</sup> and states that the probability is, as was commonly the case in audiences before Caligula, there were two hearings: one at Baïæ, when Agrippa's envoy was present, and when the trial was adjourned on account of the absence of Agrippa; and a second hearing in Gaul, in the presence of Agrippa himself. The trial having been adjourned from Baïæ to Lyons, Josephus wrote by mistake the place of condemnation (Lyons) for the place of banishment (Spain).<sup>25</sup>

All the coins of Antipas were struck at Tiberias, the town on the Lake of Gennesareth built by him in honour of Tiberius. M. de Saulcy has suggested<sup>26</sup> that perhaps it was in A.D. 29—30, the first year of which we have his coins, that Antipas quitted Machærus to live in Galilee, in the town of Tiberias, of which he was the founder.

This prince is called *Herod* by St. Matthew, St. Mark,

<sup>23</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10. See under F, "Agrippa I."

<sup>24</sup> See the passages in Josephus ("Antiq.," xviii. 7, 2; "Bell. Jud.," ii. 9, 6).

<sup>25</sup> It has also been suggested (Dr. Smith's "Bibl. Dict.," vol. i. p. 796) that the town is *Lugdunum Convenarum* (now St. Bertrand de Comminges), a town of Gaul situated at the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, as a town like this would satisfy both passages of Josephus.

<sup>26</sup> "Numismatique de la Tibériade," in the *Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, vol. iii. p. 270.

St. Luke, and in the Acts; and *Antipas* and *Herod* by Josephus.<sup>27</sup>

The two Herod Philips of Jewish history having been frequently confounded together, as I pointed out in my work,<sup>28</sup> and of which M. de Saulcy has again recently reminded us,<sup>29</sup> I have thought it advisable to give an historical account of these two princes, so that their identification may, if possible, be established.

#### D. HEROD PHILIP I.

Herod Philip I. was the son of Herod I., surnamed the Great, by a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the High Priest.<sup>30</sup> He was the husband of Herodias, by whom he had a daughter, Salome, who married Herod Philip II. Herodias, contrary to the laws of her country,<sup>31</sup> divorced herself from him and married her half-uncle Antipas. Herod Philip I. was omitted in the will of Herod in consequence of the discovery that Mariamne was conscious of the plots of Antipater, the son of Herod I. by Doris.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Mr. Lewin ("Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 16) says: "Antipas (called in Scripture and Josephus) Herod." I find that Josephus sometimes calls this Jewish prince Antipas and sometimes Herod (Jos. "Antiq." xviii. 5, 1, and elsewhere).

<sup>28</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 100.

<sup>29</sup> "Notes sur les Monnaies de Philippe le Tétrarque," in the Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, vol. iii. p. 264.

<sup>30</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4.

<sup>31</sup> The marriage of Herodias was unlawful for three reasons: first, her former husband, Philip, was still alive (*διασῶσα ζῶντος*, Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4); secondly, Antipas' wife was still alive; and thirdly, by her first marriage with Philip she became the sister-in-law of Antipas, who was consequently forbidden by the Jewish law to marry his brother's wife (Levit. xviii. 16, xx. 21; Alford, Matt. xiv. 4; F. W. Madden, Art. *Herodian Family*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Literature," new edit., 1869).

<sup>32</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." i. 30, 7.

I have already pointed out in my book<sup>33</sup> that the late Mr. J. Y. Akerman wrongly attributed coins to this Philip,<sup>34</sup> and that the editors of the "*Trésor de Numismatique et Glyptique*" confounded the two Philips, and I attempted to make some distinction between them. Unfortunately, one of my references was wrongly printed. The reference to "*Matt. xvi. 3,*" in note 8, should have been to "*Matt. XIV. 3.*" This question, therefore, drew forth some remarks from M. de Sauley, which he wrote in 1872,<sup>35</sup> and of which the following is an extract:—

"M. Madden insiste sur ce qu'il ne faut pas confondre Philippe le tétrarque avec Hérode Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, fils du roi Hérode et de Mariamne, fille du grand-prêtre Simon. Celui-ci épousa Hérodiade, fille d'Aristobule et de Bérénice, dont il eut Salomé, femme de Philippe le tétrarque. Pour distinguer avec précision cet Hérode Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, M. Madden renvoie aux passages évangéliques suivant saint Mathieu xvi. 3, saint Marc vi. 17 et saint Luc iii. 1. Le premier de ces renvois est inexact; au verset indiqué il n'est pas question de Philippe, mais au verset 13 du même chapitre, Césarée de Philippe est mentionnée, et là il s'agit à coup sûr de Philippe le tétrarque. Dans saint Marc (vi. 17) c'est d'Hérode Antipas qu'il est question, à propos de l'emprisonnement de saint Jean-Baptiste, emprisonnement causé par le reproche adressé à Hérode Antipas d'avoir épousé Hérodiade, la femme de son frère *Philippe*. Celui qui est appelé Philippe ici est certainement Hérode, le fils du roi Hérode et de Mariamne fille du grand-prêtre Simon, dont Hérodiade se sépara aussitôt après la naissance

<sup>33</sup> "*Hist. of Jewish Coinage,*" p. 100.

<sup>34</sup> "*Numismatic Illustrations of the New Test.,*" 1846, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> "*Note sur les Monnaies de Philippe le Tétrarque,*" in the *Ann. de la Num. Soc. Franç.*, 1869, vol. iii. p. 264.

de sa fille Salomé. Il est donc probable que cet Hérode a porté le nom de Philippe, puisque Philippe le tétrarque a été le gendre et non l'époux d'Hérodiad. Saint Luc dit la même chose et parle d'Hérodiad comme femme de Philippe, frère d'Hérode Antipas.

"Remarquons toutefois que dans ces deux passages seuls il est question d'un Philippe, frère d'Hérode Antipas, et frère de Philippe qui fut tétrarque. Je crains bien qu'il n'y ait eu là une confusion de noms."

As I have above mentioned, my reference to *Matt.* xvi. 3 was incorrect, and should have been to *Matt.* xiv. 3. It may perhaps be as well to quote the three passages from the gospels in which reference is made to Philip I.

(1) *Matt.* xiv. 3: "For Herod [Antipas] had laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, *his brother Philip's* wife."

(2) *Mark* vi. 17: "For Herod [Antipas] himself had sent forth and laid hold upon John, and bound him in prison for Herodias' sake, *his brother Philip's* wife: for he had married her."

(3) *Luke* iii. 19: "But Herod [Antipas] the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias *his brother Philip's* wife, &c."

There are, then, *three* passages in which allusion is made to a Philip, brother of Herod Antipas, and as Philip I., and *not* Philip II., was the husband of Herodias, there is no doubt that they allude to the former of the two, and distinguish him from his brother, the husband of Salome. I do not quite see that there is any "confusion de noms."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The confusion is still perpetuated by the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible" (Art. *Herodias*). It is here stated that "Herodias first married Herod surnamed Philip, *another of the sons of Mariamne* and the first Herod, and therefore her *full uncle*." This should read "Herodias first married Herod surnamed Philip, the son of *another Mariamne*

Herod Philip I. is called *Philip* in the passages of the gospels above quoted, and *Herod* in Josephus.<sup>37</sup>

Of this prince there are *no coins*.

#### E. HEROD PHILIP II.

B.C. 4—A.D. 33.

Herod Philip II. was the son of Herod I. and Cleopatra (Ἱεροσολυμίτις), and was with his half-brothers, Archelaus and Antipas, brought up at Rome.<sup>38</sup> He received as his share of his father's kingdom the tetrarchies of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain parts about Jamnia.<sup>39</sup> He was married to Salome, the daughter of Herod Philip I. and Herodias, but left no children.<sup>40</sup> He built the city of Paneas, and named it Cæsarea, more commonly known as Cæsarea Philippi.<sup>41</sup> He enjoyed a reign of thirty-seven years, and died at Julias, and was buried in the monument he had there built.<sup>42</sup> Leaving no children, his dominions were annexed to the Roman province of Syria.<sup>43</sup>

He is only mentioned once in the New Testament.<sup>44</sup>

He must not be confounded with Herod Philip I., an account of whom is given in the previous section.

and the first Herod, and therefore her *half-uncle*." It is further said that "her paramour (Antipas) was indeed *less of a blood relation than her original husband*;" but this is again a mistake as the relationship was just the same. (See our Genealogical Table at commencement of § 3.)<sup>37</sup> "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4.

<sup>38</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xvii. 1, 3; "Bell. Jud." i. 28, 4. Josephus, in "Antiq." xvii. 8, 1, calls Philip Ἀρχελαίου ἀδελφῷ γνησιῷ, *own brother* of Archelaus, but in other passages he gives the correct relationship.

<sup>39</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xvii. 11, 4; "Bell. Jud." ii. 6, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 5, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27.

<sup>42</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 2, 1; 4, 6; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 1.

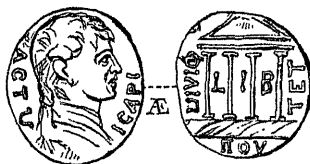
<sup>43</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 5, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Φιλίππου τετραρχούντος, Luke iii. 1.

There is not, however, a shadow of a doubt that certain coins bearing the legend **ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ** belong to Herod Philip II.

M. de Sauley, in the paper to which I have referred,<sup>45</sup> states that he has carefully studied the coins of this prince which exist in the Cabinet de Médailles at Paris, so that I shall be able to lay before my readers a more complete description than that given in my book.

I have, however, the pleasure of announcing the publication of a hitherto unknown specimen, with which I commence the catalogue.



1. *Obv.*— . **ICAP** . . . **ACTY**. Head of Augustus to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—**ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ** . . . Tetrastyle temple ; between the columns **L. IB** (year 12).

This interesting and rare coin is in the possession of the Rev. W. Wright, of 21, Straight Street, Damascus, who has kindly permitted me to publish it. I have also to thank Dr. Macaulay, of the Religious Tract Society, for lending me the electrotype of the piece.

2. *Obv.*—**KAICAP** . . . Head of Augustus to the right.

*Rev.*—**ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ** . . . Tetrastyle temple ; between the columns **L. IS** (year 16). Published by De Sauley (*op. cit.*, No. 1).

This is the same piece as that published by Panel, and afterwards by Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iii.

<sup>45</sup> "Notes sur les Monnaies de Philippe le Tétrarque," in the Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, vol. iii. p. 264.



p. 490) and Mionnet (vol. v. p. 567) with the date **L. KS**. De Saulcy publishes an imperfect example from his own collection (*op. cit.*, No. 5), with date illegible, and having on the summit of the frontal of the temple a **Δ** (*delta*) reversed.

3. *Obv.*—**ΣΕΒΑ**. Head to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—**ΦΙΛΙΠ[Π]ΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟ[Υ]** (*sic*). Tetrastyle temple; between the columns **L. ΙΘ** (year 19). De Saulcy (*op. cit.*, No. 2), "Trésor"<sup>46</sup> (Pl. LX. No. 1); Madden ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 101, No. 1).

This is the same piece as that published by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 567) with the date **L. ΚΘ**. On the obverse of this piece there is on the shoulder the countermark **Φ**. M. de Saulcy is of opinion that it is rather the initial of the name of Philip of Bathyra, the Zamaride,<sup>47</sup> than that of Philip the tetrarch himself. A specimen of this coin is in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt. The obverse legend reads [**ΚΑΙΣ**]ΑΡΙ **ΣΕΒ**[**ΑΣΤΩ**], and above the head there is a countermark of a star.

4. *Obv.*— . . **ΣΕΒΑΤΟΥ** (*sic*) **ΚΑΙΣΑΡ**. Head of Tiberius to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—**ΦΙΛ—[ΤΕ]ΤΡΑ—ΡΧΟΥ**. Tetrastyle temple; between the columns **L. ΛΓ** (year 33). De Saulcy (*op. cit.*, No. 3); "Trésor" (Pl. LX. No. 2); Madden ("Hist. of Jew. Coin.," p. 101, No. 2).

5. *Obv.*—**ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ**. Head of Tiberius to the right, bare; before it a branch of laurel.

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<sup>46</sup> References to the "Trésor" are to the "Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique," Numismatique des Rois Grecs. Ed. C. Lenormant. Paris, 1849.

<sup>47</sup> A most rare and interesting coin of this prince is published by De Saulcy in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., 1871, p. 160.

*Rev.*—ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ . . . Tetrastyle temple; between the columns **L. AZ** (year 37). De Saulcy (*op. cit.*, No. 4); Madden ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 102, No. 3), from Cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan. The coin now belongs to M. le Comte Cahen d'Anvers.

From this catalogue it appears that the only dates on the coins of Herod Philip II., as at present known, are **L. IB.**, **L. IS.**, **L. IO.**, **L. ΛΓ.**, and **L. AZ.**

	<i>F. W. Madden.</i>	<i>F. de Saulcy.</i>
<b>IB</b> 12 corresponds to A.D.	8—9	...
<b>IS</b> 16       "       "	12—13	A.D. 11—12.
<b>IO</b> 19       "       "	15—16	" 14—15.
<b>ΛΓ</b> 33       "       "	29—30	" 28—29.
<b>AZ</b> 37       "       "	33—34	" 32—33.

It will be seen that my dates differ slightly from those given by De Saulcy, and a table attached to this chapter will show how I have obtained this result.

Of these coins, those bearing the dates **IB** and **IS** were struck during the reign of Augustus, and those with the dates **ΛΓ** and **AZ** during that of Tiberius.

With respect to the piece with the date **IO**, De Saulcy has raised an objection, as follows: "Pour celle de l'an **IO** nous devons admettre qu'elle a été frappée avant que la nouvelle de la mort d'Auguste ne fût parvenue à Philippe le tétrarque, qui d'ailleurs comptait sa **XIX<sup>e</sup>** année depuis le printemps de l'an 14 et par conséquent, quatre mois avant la mort d'Auguste."

This theory of De Saulcy might be of some value if his calculation, that the coins with the date **IO** were struck between A.D. 14 and 15, was positively certain; but I make these pieces to have been issued between A.D. 15—16, and Augustus died the 19th of August, A.D. 14. In these circumstances the effigy on the obverse of the coins of

Herod Philip II. with the date **IC** would be that of the Emperor Tiberius.

As regards the place of issue of the coins of Philip II., De Saulcy is strongly opposed to the supposition that they were struck at Cæsarea Philippi, and consequently the type of the temple would not refer to that built near Panium by Herod I. He is of opinion that they were probably issued at Julias, the ancient Bethsaida, now *Tell-hum*, and that the temple on the coins is no other than the fine synagogue of which one admires the ruins at Tell-hum. Here, however, arises a difficulty. "Julias" is certainly "Bethsaida," but is it *Tell-hum*?

I pointed out in my book<sup>48</sup> that the Bethsaida in Lower Gaulonitis, on which Philip II. bestowed the name of *Julias*, at which he was buried, and which is mentioned in Luke ix. 10, and Mark viii. 22, should not be confounded with the Bethsaida of Galilee. It appears, however, that De Saulcy<sup>49</sup> is of opinion that there was but *one Bethsaida*, and he places it at *Tell-hum*. Not having myself been to the spot I cannot speak from personal experience, but from what I have read on the subject it seems clear that there were *two* Bethsaidas: one on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, the other on the eastern. I may add that the ruins of *Tell-hum* have been also identified with Chorazin<sup>50</sup> and with Capernaum.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps the type of the temple on these coins bears some allusion to a portion of the costly tomb built by

<sup>48</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 100.

<sup>49</sup> "Travels," ii. 441; quoted by Rev. J. L. Porter in Kitto's "Bibl. Cyc.," new edit., s. v. *Bethsaida*.

<sup>50</sup> Rev. J. L. Porter, Kitto's "Bibl. Cyc.," s. v. *Chorazin*.

<sup>51</sup> Capt. Wilson's opinion in "Our Work in Palestine," p. 186. Published by Palestine Exploration Fund Committee, 1873. Dr. Farrar ("Life of Christ," vol. i. p. 181) is also of this opinion.

Philip II. at Julias (Bethsaida), and in which he was buried.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINAGE OF HEROD ANTIPAS AND  
HEROD PHILIP II.

	Years of Antipas.	Years of Philip II.	Remarks.
B.C.	4—1	1	Death of Herod I. in March B.C. 4.
	3—2	2	
	2—3	3	
	1—4	4	
A.D.	1—5	5	
	2—6	6	
	3—7	7	
	4—8	8	
	5—9	9	
	6—10	10	
	7—11	11	Banishment of Archelaus.
	8—12	12 L. IB	
	9—13	13	
	10—14	14	
	11—15	15	
	12—16	16 L. IS	
	13—17	17	
	14—18	18	
	15—19	19 L. IO	
	16—20	20	Death of Augustus, Aug. 19, A.D. 14.
	17—21	21	
	18—22	22	
	19—23	23	
	20—24	24	
	21—25	25	
	22—26	26	
	23—27	27	
	24—28	28	
	25—29	29	
	26—30	30	20th year of Tiberius. Death of Philip II.
	27—31	31	
	28—32	32	
	29—33 L. AΓ	33 L. AΓ	
	30—34 L. ΔΔ	34	
	31—35	35	
	32—36	36	
	33—37 L. AZ	37 L. AZ	
	34—38 L. AH P		
	35—39		
	36—40		Agrippa I. receives from Caius the Tetrarchy of Philip II.
April	37—41		
"	38—42		Antipas banished to Gaul early in A.D. 40, and in the fourth year of Agrippa I. holding the tetrarchy of Philip II.
"	39—43 L. MT		
"	40—44 L. MA		
"	41—		

The question of the coinage of Agrippa I. and II. having been the subject of a special paper by M. de Saulcy, published in 1869,<sup>52</sup> I have thought it advisable to lay before my readers, in order that they may better understand the various points of argument, an historical and chronological account of the reigns of these two Jewish princes.

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F. HEROD AGRIPPA I.

A.D. 37—A.D. 44.

Herod Agrippa I. was born at the latter end of B.C. 11, and was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and the grandson of Herod I., surnamed the Great. A short time before the death of Herod I. he was living at Rome, and was brought up with Drusus the son of Tiberius, and Claudius, and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the elder.<sup>53</sup> By his reckless extravagance he was reduced to poverty, and became unable to live at Rome any longer. For this cause he left Rome and went to Judæa, and shortly after was appointed governor of Tiberias, through the instigation of his sister Herodias and his wife Cypros. Finding himself again in difficulties, and having quarrelled with Antipas, he returned to Italy to seek an interview with Tiberius, and he there became very friendly with Caius. In an unguarded moment he expressed the wish that Caius might soon succeed to the throne, which, being reported to Tiberius, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained till the accession of Caius, the 16th of March, A.D. 37.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> "Étude Chronologique de la vie et des monnaies des rois juifs Agrippa I. et Agrippa II.," in the *Mémoires de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 1869, p. 26 *seq.*

<sup>53</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii. 6, 3—9.

Agrippa I. was *immediately* set at liberty, and Caius conferred upon him the tetrarchy of Philip II. with the title of "king."<sup>55</sup>

Whilst Agrippa was on his way to take possession of his new kingdom, in the second year of the reign of Caius, Antipas hastened to Rome to ask for himself likewise the title of "king." This, however, was opposed by Agrippa, and Antipas, instead of gaining the royal title, was sent into exile in Spain [see Section C.].

This took place in A.D. 40, and Caius immediately gave the dominions of Antipas, consisting of Galilee and Peræa, to Agrippa I.<sup>56</sup>

In A.D. 40 Agrippa I. was at Rome in high favour with Caius, interceding for the Jews and begging that Petronius might be forbidden to set up the Emperor's statue in the Temple. This request was granted.<sup>57</sup>

On the 24th of January, A.D. 41, Caius was slain, and Claudius succeeded to the empire.

For the services rendered by Agrippa I. in negotiating between the Senate and Claudius, the new Emperor on his accession presented to him Judæa, Samaria, and the tetrarchy of Lysanias II.<sup>58</sup>

Agrippa I. now possessed the entire kingdom of his grandfather, Herod I.

He appears to have started to take possession of his dominions soon after.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Διελευθούσων μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον, κ.τ.λ., Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 7, 2.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., xviii. 8, 7—9.

<sup>58</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 5, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 5. In another passage Josephus says that Caius gave him this tetrarchy ("Antiq." xviii. 6, 10). Caius probably promised it and Claudius actually conferred it.

<sup>59</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 6, 1.

Agrippa I. loved to live at Jerusalem, and was a strict observer of the laws of his country. Influenced by a strong desire for popularity rather than from innate cruelty, he "stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church." He put to death James the elder, son of Zebedee, and cast Peter into prison, no doubt with the intention of killing him also. This was frustrated by his miraculous deliverance from his jailors by the angel of the Lord.<sup>60</sup> Agrippa I., like his grandfather Herod, displayed great taste in building, and especially adorned the city of Berytus.<sup>61</sup> In A.D. 44 Agrippa celebrated games at Cæsarea in honour of the Emperor Claudius, and to make vows for his safety. At this festival a number of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity in the province, attended. The people of Tyre and Sidon were in probability also present, though not recorded by Josephus, and whilst it is stated<sup>62</sup> that Agrippa I. was "highly displeased" with them, it does not appear that any rupture worthy of notice had taken place. On the second day Agrippa appeared in the theatre in a garment interwoven with silver. On closing his address to the people they saluted him as a god, for which he did not rebuke them, and he was immediately seized with internal pains, and died five days after.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Acts xii. 1—19.

<sup>61</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 7, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Acts xii. 20.

<sup>63</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 8, 2. Antiochus Epiphanes also died of the same complaint, and in his agony exclaimed—"It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself, *as if he were a God.*" (2 Maccab. ix. 12). Sulla, Herod I., and Galerius Maximian are said to have died of the same loathsome disease. The Roman emperors were very fond of assuming to themselves the title of 'God,' as I have in another place pointed out (Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 272). Domitian in his edicts commenced, *Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet* (Suet. "In

This fuller account of Josephus agrees substantially with that given in the Acts; the silver dress<sup>64</sup> and the disease.<sup>65</sup> The owl,<sup>66</sup> which on this occasion appeared to Agrippa I. as the messenger of ill tidings,<sup>67</sup> though on a former it had appeared to him as a messenger of good news,<sup>68</sup> is converted by Eusebius,<sup>69</sup> who professes to quote Josephus, into the angel of the Acts.<sup>70</sup>

The death of Agrippa I. took place when he had reigned three years over all Judæa.<sup>71</sup> Josephus adds that he "departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the *seventh year of his reign*; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar [A.D. 37—41], three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only [A.D. 37—40], and on the

Dom." 13; Dion Cass. lxxvii. 13). Caligula assumed the title, exclaiming *εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἰς βασιλεὺς* (Suet. "In Calig." 22; cf. Homer, "Iliad," ii. 204). Elagabalus was hailed as *κύριος* (Dion Cass., lxxix. 16). Aurelian styled himself on his coins **DEO ET DOMINO NATO** and **SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI**, as also Carus. The term **ΘΕΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ** occurs frequently on coins of Pergamus, &c. (For further particulars see my article in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE above referred to.) I may, however, add that M. Ernest Renan ("Les Apôtres," p. 251) is of opinion that the symptoms recorded by Josephus suggest that Agrippa I. was poisoned, and that what is said in the Acts about the equivocal conduct of the Phœnicians and about the care that they took to gain over Blastus, the king's chamberlain, corroborates this hypothesis.

<sup>64</sup> Ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πασαν, Josephus; ἐσθήτα βασιλικήν, Acts.

<sup>65</sup> Τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, Josephus; γενόμενος σκοληκόβρωτος ἐξέψυξεν, Acts.

<sup>66</sup> Βουβῶνα ἐπὶ σχοινίου τινοῦ, Josephus.

<sup>67</sup> Ἄγγελος κάκων, Jos., "Antiq." xix. 8, 2.

<sup>68</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 7.

<sup>69</sup> H. E. ii. ch. 10.

<sup>70</sup> Ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου, Acts xii. 23. For an explanation of the confusion, cf. Eusebius, *loc. cit.*, ed. Heinichen. Excurs. II. vol. iii. p. 556; Alford, *in loc.*

<sup>71</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 8, 2.



fourth [A.D. 40], he had that of Herod added to it; and he reigned besides those three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar [A.D. 41—44], in which time he reigned over the fore-mentioned countries and also had Judæa added to them, as also Samaria and Cæsarea."<sup>72</sup>

In another passage Josephus writes, "He had then (at his death) reigned *three years* [A.D. 41—44], as he had governed his tetrarchies *three other years* [A.D. 37—40]."<sup>73</sup>

Let us see by means of a table which of these statements may be taken as correct:—

March, A.D. 37.	Death of Tiberius.	Caligula.
April, A.D. 37	1st year	Agrippa I. receives the tetrarchy of
" 38	2nd year	Philip II.
" 39	3rd year	
" 40	4th year	Agrippa I. receives Galilee and Peræa.
" 41	5th year	Death of Caligula. Claudius. Agrippa
" 42	6th year	I. receives Judæa and Samaria.
" 43	7th year	
" 44		Death of Agrippa I. in the summer of A.D. 44.

From this table there does not seem to be much doubt that the figures in the first-quoted passage of Josephus are the correct ones, and that seven years and a few months may be considered to have been the length of the reign of Agrippa I.<sup>74</sup>

De Sauley has given a somewhat similar table,<sup>75</sup> and arrives at a slightly different conclusion.<sup>76</sup> Further dis-

<sup>72</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 8, 2.    <sup>73</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

<sup>74</sup> Agrippa himself, in A.D. 40 ("Apud Philonem leg. ad Caium," c. 41), enumerates the gifts of Caligula, ἐχαρίσω μοι βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μιᾶς χώρας (the tetrarchy of Philip in A.D. 37), αἰθις δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας μείζονος, τὴν Τραχωῦντιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας (the tetrarchy of Antipas in A.D. 40).

<sup>75</sup> "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.," 1869, p. 35.

<sup>76</sup> He says: "Vers avril ou mai 44, Agrippa mourut à Césarée, dans sa septième année de règne. En effet, l'expres-

cussion on this point will be resumed when treating of the dates on the coins of Agrippa I.

HEROD AGRIPPA I., WITHOUT NAME OF EMPEROR.

1. *Obv.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ.** Umbrella.

*Rev.*—Three ears of corn springing from one stalk; in the field, to right and left, **L. S** (year 6). ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." Pl. IX. No. 8; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 104; De Saulcy, "Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 27, No. 6.)

Readers of papers on Jewish Coins must by this time be well aware how persistently De Saulcy has maintained, even up to the year 1871,<sup>77</sup> that there is no coin of Agrippa I. of this type in existence with any other date than the year **L. S** (year 6).

In 1862 Mr. Reichardt<sup>78</sup> maintained that he not only possessed a coin with the date **L. H** (year 8), but that the dates 5, 7, and 9 were also to be met with on coins of Agrippa I. in his collection.

sion dont se sert Josèphe, "Ἀγων . . . τῆς βασιλείας δὲ ἑβδομον, nous donne le droit de croire qu'Agrippa est mort quelques jours avant que sa septième année de règne fût terminée" (*op. cit.*). Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 280, No. 1678) writes—"As Josephus, in the Antiquities, reckons the reign of Agrippa at seven years, it is clear that he does not compute it, as he did that of Herod, from 1 Jan. or 1 Nisan next preceding the accession; otherwise, as Agrippa was appointed king in April, A.D. 37, and died in April, A.D. 44, which was after the commencement of the Roman year on 1 January and the Jewish year on 1 Nisan, he would be said to have reigned eight years." Tacitus ("Ann." xii. 23), confounding Agrippa with Herod of Chalcis, places the death of Agrippa about A.D. 48. Mr. R. C. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 28), though assigning to Agrippa I. a reign of seven years, places his death in the third year of Claudius, A.D. 43, instead of in the fourth year of Claudius, A.D. 44.

<sup>77</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 255.

<sup>78</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 272; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 105.



Woodcuts of the specimens with the dates **L. E** and **L. O** were in 1865 published by myself,<sup>79</sup> which I have above repeated.

It now appears that De Saulcy has at last received impressions of the coins with the dates **L. E** and **L. O**. He says:<sup>80</sup> “A en juger par l’état des pièces en question, les dates pour ainsi dire seules, ont été préservés en bon état et sont lisibles. C’est certainement le fait d’un bonheur inouï, et d’autant plus extraordinaire à mes yeux, que sur plusieurs centaines d’exemplaires qui ont passé par mes mains, je n’ai jamais eu la chance d’en rencontrer un seul qui ne m’offrit la date **L. S**. Mais cela ne me suffit plus pour déclarer que ces monnaies doivent être considérées comme suspectes.”

He therefore examines the question if Agrippa II. could possibly have struck any of these coins, especially the one with the date **L. O** (year 9), and certainly satisfactorily proves that none of these pieces could by any possibility have been issued by Agrippa II. I am quite of his opinion.

De Saulcy consequently concludes as follows:<sup>81</sup> “J’ose dire en toutes lettres que le règne d’Agrippa I<sup>er</sup> n’a pas été de plus de sept ans, puisqu’il est mort dans le cours de sa septième année. Nous avons prouvé plus haut par les chiffres qu’Agrippa I<sup>er</sup> avait reçu le titre de roi pour

<sup>79</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 207.

<sup>80</sup> Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 45.

<sup>81</sup> Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 46.

la tétrarchie de Philippe en avril 37. Il est mort vers le mois d'avril 44. Que l'on s'y prenne comme l'on voudra, Josèphe, qui n'a guère pu se tromper, est, sur ce point, pleinement justifié par les chiffres. A la rigueur, en admettant l'inexactitude de notre historien, lorsqu'il dit qu'Agrippa mourut *ἄγων . . . τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδομον*, on pourrait peut-être évaluer le règne de ce prince à sept ans et quelques jours, ce qui pourrait légitimer la présence d'une date **L. H.** Mais une date **L. Θ** me paraît toujours inexplicable; d'ailleurs, les faussaires ne manquent pas à Jerusalem!"

I do not, however, quite comprehend why De Saulcy has completely ignored the explanation given by Mr. Reichardt, the owner of the coins in question. This gentleman says,<sup>82</sup> "Eckhel and Cavedoni assert that if a coin of the year 9 does exist, it cannot belong to Agrippa I., but to the second, inasmuch as the former only reigned seven years. Now, these eminent men have forgotten that we have coins of the second year of Roman princes who only reigned a few months; nor is it likely that they were aware that the Jewish kings counted their reign of one day of the year for a whole year, commencing that year on the 1st of Nisan (Gemar. Bab. Tract, 'Rosh ha-shanna,' fol. 2 b). So if one king ascended the throne the day before the 1st of Nisan, that one day would have been said to be the first year of that king's reign, and on the following day, the 1st of Nisan, it would have been said he entered upon his second year. Agrippa, therefore, though only reigning for the space of seven years, might put the ninth year on his coins, as may be seen by the following table:—

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<sup>82</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 272; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 105.

"Agrippa was made king by Caligula—

790 u.c., before the 1 Nisan A.D. 37, counting this as his 1st year.

790	"	from	"	"	"	2nd
791	"	"	"	38	"	3rd
792	"	"	"	39	"	4th
793	"	"	"	40	"	5th
794	"	"	"	41	"	6th
795	"	"	"	42	"	7th
796	"	"	"	43	"	8th
797	"	"	"	44	"	9th

when Agrippa died, in his fifty-fourth year."<sup>83</sup>

Whilst, however, admitting that there might exist a piece with the date **L. H** (year 8), and with greater improbability a piece with the date **L. Θ** (year 9), I must again repeat "that neither at Copenhagen nor at Vienna, nor at Berlin, nor in the British Museum, nor in the Wigan Collection (and De Saulcy now adds, nor at Paris), is there a piece of Agrippa I. with a higher numeral than 6 (**L. S**)."<sup>84</sup>

2. *Obv.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟ-ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Head of Agrippa I. to the right.

<sup>83</sup> Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 175) writes:—"The regnal years of the kings of Judæa were regulated by the first day of the month Nisan, which commenced the year. If a king had acceded on that day, and reigned for that day alone, the whole year would have been called his first year. If he had reigned for twelve months, from 2 Nisan to 30 Adar, the year in question would not have been reckoned as his regnal year at all. Thus anno 8 was the last year of the life of Agrippa."

<sup>84</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 105. Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 388, No. 1983) quoting from Eckhel (vol. iii. p. 493), who does not positively assign these coins to Agrippa II., attributes them, and incorrectly, without a word, to Agrippa II. ! He says, "Agrippa in his coinage reckoned A.D. 61 as the first of his reign. Why this was does not appear, but the fact is incontrovertible. Thus on one coin we have *Imp. Cæ. D. Vesp. F. Dom. Au. Ger. Cos. XII. Caput Domitiani laureatum* + 'Επί Βα. Αγγ. κτ. κς. *Caduceus inter duplex cornu-copiae*. Domitian was Consul XII in A.D. 86, which was therefore the

*Rev.*—**ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ . . . ΛΙΜΕΝΙ.** Female figure standing, holding rudder and cornucopiæ. ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 3; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 106; De Saulcy, *Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, p. 27, No. 1).

The coins, on the description of which I am now about to enter, have been published by M. de Saulcy in his "Agrippa" paper; and I presume that he has verified the descriptions in the "Trésor" and in my book with the specimens in the Bibliothèque. No remarks whatever are made upon them by De Saulcy.

On reference to my book, it will be noticed that I omitted, on the reverse, the word **ΛΙΜΕΝΙ**, as the editors of the "Trésor," after a most careful examination, were unable to trace this word. De Saulcy now restores it.

The legend **ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ** occurs upon the coins of Nero, struck at Cæsarea of Samaria.<sup>85</sup>

It will be observed that the title **ΜΕΓΑΣ** occurs on the obverse of this coin.<sup>86</sup> On another piece, struck at Anthedon-Agrippias, published by Sestini<sup>87</sup> and Mionnet,<sup>88</sup>

twenty-sixth year of Agrippa, so that A.D. 61 was his first year. The coin first above-mentioned (**L. E**) was struck in the fifth year of his reign, and therefore in A.D. 65." The coin with date **L. O** was therefore, according to Mr. Lewin, struck in A.D. 69. The coin of Agrippa II. under Domitian above alluded to by Mr. Lewin, and which will be found described and commented on by me in its proper place, proves without doubt that Agrippa II. issued certain of his coins according to an era commencing in A.D. 61, but it does not prove *incontrovertibly* that A.D. 61 was in his coinage reckoned as the first year of his reign.

<sup>85</sup> De Saulcy, *Num. de la Terre-Sainte*, 1874, p. 116.

<sup>86</sup> See note 2 under A, Herod I.

<sup>87</sup> "Lett. Num. Cont.," t. vi. p. 103, No. 1.

<sup>88</sup> "Suppl.," vol. viii. p. 364; see Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 108.

there is the title **ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ**. Its description is as follows:—

*Obv.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ**. Head of Agrippa I. to the left; before, **Λ. Ε** (year 5).

*Rev.*—**ΑΝΘΗΔΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**. Double cornu-copiae.

De Saulcy has not a very high opinion of this coin, and adds,<sup>89</sup> “il n'est pas possible que le mot absurde **ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ** ne soit pas le résultat d'une mauvaise lecture. J'ai bien peur que l'éthnique **ΑΝΘΗΔΙΩΝ** ne soit estropié de la même façon.” If genuine, it must have been issued about A.D. 42. De Saulcy does not allude to this or to the previous coin in his new work on the coins of the “Terre-Sainte.”

#### HEROD AGRIPPA I., UNDER CAIUS.

1. *Obv.*— . . . **ΣΕΒΑΣΤ**. Head to the left.

*Rev.*— **ΒΑ**  
**ΑΓ** . . . . . in front of the king, in a quadriga to right. (“Trésor,” Pl. XL. No. 4; Madden, “Hist. of Jew. Coinage,” p. 108; De Saulcy, *Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, p. 27, No. 2.)

The attribution of this coin to the reign of Caius is uncertain, and I have always felt a doubt of its correctness. De Saulcy points out that my description and engraving are incorrect. I presume that the description above gives as much of the legend as De Saulcy has been able to decipher.

2. *Obv.*—**ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ** . . . Head of Caius to the left.

*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕ** (retrograde). Victory flying to right. (“Trésor,” Pl. LX. No. 5; Madden, “Hist. of Jew. Coinage,” p. 109; De Saulcy, *Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, p. 27, No. 3.)

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<sup>89</sup> De Saulcy, *Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, p. 55.

The attribution of this coin seems correct.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Caius.

*Rev.*—**ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΒΑΣΙ-  
ΛΕΥ.** Male figure, standing, holding a roll.  
(Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 109, from  
Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 491, after Vaillant; De Saulcy,  
Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 27,  
No. 7.)

Eckhel is of opinion that this coin was struck at  
Cæsarea Panias. It does not, however, appear to be  
alluded to by De Saulcy in the description of the coins of  
this town in his "Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte."

#### HEROD AGRIPPA I., UNDER CLAUDIUS.

The first coin to which I have now to allude is the  
remarkable over-struck and imperfect piece published in  
my book at p. 109.

As far as I could ascertain from the engraving in the  
"Trésor,"<sup>90</sup> and from the examination of which I caused  
an engraving to be made, the legends of obverse and  
reverse were as follows:—

*Obv.*—**ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ. ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ.**

*Rev.*—**ΔΗΜ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΥΜΧΙΑΤ (?) [σύν]-  
ΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.**

I suggested that **ΣΥΜΧΙΑΤ (?)** might represent  
**ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ.**<sup>91</sup>

De Saulcy<sup>92</sup> describes the legends:—

*Obv.*—**ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ . . . ΚΑΙΣ.**

*Rev.*—Exterior legend, . . . . **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ . . . . Α**  
**ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ . . . .** Interior legend, **ΣΥΜ ·**  
**ΧΙ · ΑΥ . . . . ΗΜ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Κ.**

<sup>90</sup> Pl. LX. No. 6.

<sup>91</sup> The word **ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ** occurs on coins of Caria (Eckhel,  
Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 574), and seems to mean a college  
embracing all the authority of the *βουλή*, *δῆμος*, and *γερονσία*.

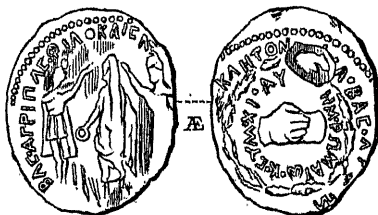
<sup>92</sup> Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 27, No. 4.



This nearly agrees with the description of the coin in Mionnet.<sup>93</sup> The latter, however, gives the square sigma (Σ), as I did; whilst De Saulcy gives, on the obverse and the reverse, the lunar sigma (C), and on the reverse in one instance the ordinary sigma (Σ).

The late Abbé Cavedoni<sup>94</sup> tried to explain the difficulties, and read the reverse legend ΕΥΜΧΙΑ (συμμυχία) ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, and ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΝΛΗΤΟΝ (τυμμ).

In 1871, the Rev. H. C. Reichardt obtained from Paris an impression of this curious piece, and published the results of his examination of it.<sup>95</sup> This numismatist says, "After a careful examination of my copy, sharpened by the help of a magnifying glass, I have arrived at the conclusion that Mionnet, like Lenormant, was mistaken in the reading of this coin. Let us observe first the



reverse of this coin. Lenormant, as also Madden, have here overlooked that the single words are separated from each other by dots. They have quite left out the K (Kai)

<sup>93</sup> Vol. v. p. 568, No. 86.

<sup>94</sup> "Principali Questioni riguardanti la Num. Giudaica definitivamente decise," p. 14 (*tirage à part*), extracted from vol. v. ser. 2 of the "Opusc. Relig. Lett. e Morali" of Modena. Cf. F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 207, *note*.

<sup>95</sup> "Three Remarkable Coins of the Kings Agrippa I. and II." in the Numismatische Zeitschrift, Drittes Jahrgang (Januar-Jun), 1871, p. 83. Wien. Braumüller und Sohn. The woodcut given above is taken from this paper.

which joins **ΡΩΜΑΙΩ** to the following words, but which itself stands between two dots, ·**K**·, and is therefore a word of itself, although this conjunction is to be met with in Mionnet.<sup>96</sup> In the next following words I recognise, instead of the **M**, two lambdas, **ΛΛ**; and I read the inscription on the reverse beginning from the two clasped right hands, and wholly disregarding Cavedoni's *συμμαχία*, **ΔΗΜ · ΡΩΜΑΙΩ · K · ΕΥΛΛΟΧΙ · ΑΥ ·**. Then follows the Emperor's head, struck as a countermark. This legend stands inside the wreath. Outside the wreath is, **ΒΑΣ ···· ΑΓΡΙΠΑ ·· ΚΛΗΤΟΝ · Α**. The last word has been destroyed by the die of the countermark; there is therefore only plainly visible, — **A**. Then follows a dot immediately after **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ**, so that between the two there is only room for a single letter. But now it appears to me that this missing letter was a **X**, for one may remark, on the upper part of the stamp, the traces of the upper half of the **X**. We thus have **XA** with a dot, **XA ·**, after which nothing follows. I venture to suppose this **XA ·** to signify **ΧΑίρειν**. Between **ΑΓΡΙΠ(Π)Α(ν)** and **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ** there is room for a missing word. This blank can be filled with the title **ΜΕΓΑΝ**, which appears on another coin of this king (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 568, No. 87).

“The whole inscription would therefore, according to my reading, run: **ΔΗΜος ΡΩΜΑΙΩν καὶ ΕΥΛΛΟΧΙταί ΑΥτοῦ ΒΑΣίλεα ΑΓΡΙΠΑν μέγαν ΚΛΗΤΟΝ ·** (for *κλειτον*) **XA · ίρειν**. ‘The Roman people and its cohorts send greeting to the great and illustrious King Agrippa.’

“The representations of the obverse and reverse appear to justify this reading. The two right hands clasping each other are the symbol of the union of the Roman people with its army. Both, as represented by the senate,

<sup>96</sup> It will have been observed that De Saulcy has noticed the **K** and a few of the dots.

ratified by oath to King Agrippa in the Roman forum the possession of all the lands of Herod as Josephus relates ("Antiq." xix. 5, 1).

From this account of Josephus the obverse of the coin appears also to receive an explanation. We observe three figures; on the right a female figure of Rome, ΔΗΜΟΡΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, on the left a male figure, a Roman warrior, representing the Σαλλοχίται, *cohorts*; both greeting the third person, the King Agrippa, and swearing to him faithfulness with uplifted hands. The inscription reads, ΒΑΣ · ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ · ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ."

Mr. Reichardt must be commended for his suggestions and for the pains he has taken in attempting the solution of this numismatic puzzle. At the same time, objections have been raised to his proposal by the editors of the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*; and the difficulty is in the word ΧΑΐρειν. It will have been seen that this word has been restored from a certain A and a very uncertain X, Mr. Reichardt imagining that he has been able to trace the top portion of the X on the coin. The editors say, "This reading has been ventured by Mr. Reichardt; in that case χαίρειν would be construed with the dative. Perhaps he has allowed himself to explain the reading through an elliptical formation whereby the words εὐχονται or λέγουσι should be supplied—'they send him the χαίρειν, the customary greeting,' but here the accusative remains without justification." From this it would appear that the editors of the *Zeitschrift* mean that the verb χαίρειν is nearly always employed with the dative—χαίρειν λέγω σοι—and rarely with the accusative.

With a view of obtaining, if possible, some solution to this question, I submitted it to the Rev. Charles Bigg, Principal of Brighton College, and late Senior Fellow and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, who informs me

that he does not think there is so much objection as the editors of the *Zeitschrift* have supposed. For the word *κελεύω* might be the word to be supplied, the formula *χαίρειν σε κελεύω* being of common occurrence. The objection that this gentleman raises to Mr. Reichardt's reading is to the word *συλλοχिताί*, which he considers to mean "fellow-soldiers," and not "cohorts," and which he thinks is a word which would be hardly likely to be employed in an inscription of this nature. The word *συλλοχिताί* occurs in Herodotus<sup>97</sup>—*τῶν συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων*—translated by Rawlinson<sup>98</sup> "after all his comrades had fallen," and by Cary<sup>99</sup> "fellow-soldiers had perished,"—and in Plutarch.<sup>100</sup> Mr. Vaux, M.A., F.R.S., however, writes to me "the word is rare, and the presumption is therefore rather against its being used by a Roman; at the same time there is nothing in its form to prevent this."

Since, however, submitting the question to Mr. Bigg, I have at last received an impression and cast of the piece.<sup>101</sup> Mr. Bigg and myself have also again carefully examined the question, with, I am sorry to say, very little, if any, satisfactory result.

The four readings, then, that we have to consider are:—

1. *Obv.*—ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

*Rev.*—ΔΗΜ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΜΧΙΑΤ (?) [σύν]ΚΛΗ  
ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. (F. W. Madden,  
in 1864, after the drawing in the "Trésor.")

<sup>97</sup> I. 82.

<sup>98</sup> Herod. i. 82. Vol. i. p. 223.

<sup>99</sup> Herod. i. 82, translated by H. Cary, M.A. Bohn's series, 1854.

<sup>100</sup> Plut. 2, 858 D.

<sup>101</sup> I have to thank Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent for these. M. Feuardent at the same time promised to send me impressions of some inedited Jewish coins.

2. *Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΧΙΑ** (συμμαχία) **Τ**[ου] **ΔΗΜ**[ου] **ΡΩΜΑ-**  
**ΙΩΝ. ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**[τὴν σὺν] **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ**  
[τιμῶ]. (The late Abbé Cavedoni).

8. *Obv.*—**ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ . . . . . ΚΑΙΣ.**

*Rev.*— . . . . **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ . . . . . Α ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ**  
**. . . . . ΣΥΜ · ΧΙ · ΑΥ . . . . . ΗΜ ΡΩ-**  
**ΜΑΙΩΝ Κ.** (De Sauley.)

4. *Rev.*—**ΔΗΜ**[ος] **ΡΩΜΑΙΩ**[ν] · **Κ** · [αι] **ΣΥΛΛΟΧΙ-**  
[ται] **ΑΥ** · [τοῦ] **ΒΑΣ**[ιλέα] **ΑΓΡΙΠΑ**[ν μέγαν]  
**ΚΛΗΤΟΝ · ΧΑ** · [ίρειν]. (Reichardt).

As regards the words **ΣΥΛΛΟΧΙ · ΑΥ** · given by Reichardt, it will be noticed that De Sauley reads **ΣΥΜ · ΧΙ · ΑΥ**, and I must confess, from an examination of the cast, that this reading seems the more veritable one, and corroborates, to some extent, my original reading of **ΣΥΜΧΙΑΤ**. There is, however, no doubt about there being a dot after **ΧΙ**, and there are appearances of something after **ΣΥΜ**, but hardly, I think, an *omicron* (ο), as Mr. Reichardt is of opinion. What, however, can **ΣΥΜ · ΧΙ · ΑΥ** · mean?

Cavedoni, as we have seen, interprets the **ΣΥΜΧΙΑ** (*sic*) as **ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ**, but if we suppose that the **ΣΥΜ** · and the **ΧΙ** are two distinct words, can we interpret them as **ΣΥΜ**[μαχοι] **ΧΙ**[λιάρχοι]? The **ΑΥ** would still be **ΑΥ**[τοῦ].

The word **ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ** occurs on a coin of Sagalassus Pisidiæ, bearing the inscription **ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΓΑ-**  
**ΛΑССΑΙΩΝ** (*sic*) **ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΙΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΗΣ**  
**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ**.<sup>102</sup> The same word also occurs on an inscription of Mopsus Ciliciæ—**ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜ-**  
**ΜΑΧΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ**.<sup>103</sup> Such a word would therefore not be contrary to precedent.

<sup>102</sup> Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 22; vol. iv. p. 271.

<sup>103</sup> Gruter, p. 255, 5; Eckhel, *loc. cit.*

As regards the word **ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΙ** I am unable to ascertain if it may be found on any coin or inscription, but it is frequently employed in the New Testament for the Roman "tribune," and translated in the authorised version, "chief captain."<sup>104</sup>

We may next notice the word **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ**, which has been supposed by Mr. Reichardt to stand for **ΚΛΕΙΤΟΝ**—"illustrious." I am myself certainly in favour of the reading, [σύν]**ΚΛΗΤΟΝ**—"the Senate." The usual formula to be found on coins and inscriptions is **ΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ**, or **ΙΕΡΑ ΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ**, or **ΙΕΡΑΝ ΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ**, or **ΘΕΟΝ ΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ**,<sup>105</sup> and on a coin of Synnada Phrygiæ the term **ΙΕΡΑΝ ΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ** is used in conjunction with **ΔΗΜΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ**.<sup>106</sup> The phrase **ΔΟΓΜΑ ΚΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ** for "Decree of the Senate," is of common occurrence on monumental inscriptions, and Josephus<sup>107</sup> uses the word for the "Roman Senate," in contradistinction to the *βουλή*, or "Senate of the People of Sardis." Mr. Bigg fancied that the **Κ** of **ΚΛΗΤΟΝ** was not quite clear, and that he could read **Υ** of the word [**ΒΟ**]**Υ**[**ΛΗ**], but this word appears to have been generally employed for the Senate of the Greek cities.<sup>108</sup>

Can we then read the inscription — **ΔΗΜ** [ος] **ΡΩΜΑΙΩ**[ν] · **Κ** · [αί] **ΚΥΜ** · [μαχοί] **ΧΙ** · [λιάρχοι] **ΑΥ**·[ταῦ], **ΒΑΣ**[ιλεύς] **ΑΓΡΙΠΑ** [σύν]**ΚΛΗΤΟΝ** · [τιμὰ] ?

<sup>104</sup> Mark vi. 21 ; John xviii. 12 ; Acts xxi. 31—33, 37 ; xxii. 24, 26—29 ; xxiii. 10, 15, 17—19, 22 ; xxiv. 7, 22 ; xxv. 23. The *χιλιάρχος* mentioned in St. John may have been a Jewish officer (Lardner, "Credibility," &c., vol. i. p. 109). Cf. Revel. vi. 15 ; xix. 18. Alford (Grk. Test., John xviii. 12) distinguishes them as "the cohort, the chiliarch, and the Jews' officers."

<sup>105</sup> Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iv. p. 225.

<sup>106</sup> Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 173.

<sup>107</sup> "Antiq." xiv. 10, 24.

<sup>108</sup> Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 189.

There is in any case left the interpretation of Cavedoni.

After this lengthy examination of this curious coin it seems that we are at last reduced to the result which I have already given in my book,<sup>109</sup> "Without a more perfect example of this rare coin it is impossible to make out more than that the legend bears allusion to some connection between Agrippa, the Roman people, and the Senate. . . . . This coin was certainly struck on the alliance of Agrippa I. with Claudius, when all Herod's kingdom was given to him, and a league made, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the Forum of the city of Rome."<sup>110</sup>

2. *Obv.*— . . . . . **C KAICAP C** . . . Head of Claudius to the right.

*Rev.*—**ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ** . . . Two figures within a distyle temple; between them a figure seated. ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 7; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 110; De Saulcy, *Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, p. 27, No. 7.)

Following the description of this coin in my book, I adopted the views already expressed by the editors of the "Trésor," that the reverse of the coin may represent a ceremony taking place in the temple of the god Marna, at Gaza, adding that, according to Eckhel,<sup>111</sup> it appeared that "this Marna was the Cretan Jupiter."

The reviewer of my book, however, in the *Jewish Chronicle*,<sup>112</sup> took exception to this statement. "How did Jupiter," he writes, "come by this un-Hellenic and un-Latin name, and again we ask what does it mean? We believe it is the Syrian *mar* (מר), scores of times found in

<sup>109</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 109.

<sup>110</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 5, 1.

<sup>111</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii. p. 450.

<sup>112</sup> February 9th, 1866.

the Talmud in the signification of Lord, with the Arabic suffix *na* (ن) instead of the Chaldee *on*, our. *Marna*, therefore, means our Lord. *Marna* would thus only be another name for Baal (בעל), and, consequently, a fit Syriac rendering of Jupiter."

But we read in the life of St. Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza,<sup>113</sup> "that there were in Gaza eight temples, of the Sun, of Venus, of Apollo, of Proserpine, and of Hecate; that which is called Hieron, or of the Priests,<sup>114</sup> that of Fortune of the city, called *Τυχέων*, and that of *Marnion*, which, they say, is the *Cretan-born Jupiter*, and which they consider to be more glorious than any other temple in existence. . . . They also call *Marna* the rain-producing god. Indeed, they say *Marna* is *Jupiter*." Stephanus also states<sup>115</sup> "there is a temple of the Cretan Jove among them, which in our time also they call *Marna*, that is, born in Crete (*Κρηταγενή*)."<sup>116</sup>

There cannot, therefore, be much doubt that there was at Gaza a temple dedicated to the god *Marna*, who, according to the statements of the writers above-quoted, was the same as the Cretan Jupiter.

It is further worthy of notice that on several of the coins of Gaza there is a Phœnician *mem*, evidently the initial of the Phœnician name of the god *Marna*, and De

<sup>113</sup> "Acta Sanctorum," vol. v. p. 655, quoted from Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., p. 450. I regret that I cannot verify this quotation with the original, as I have always hitherto done whenever able so to do.

<sup>114</sup> De Sauley, who quotes this passage in his new book ("Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 209), gives this sentence as, "Celui qu'on appelait Herion (Ἡρώων (?) ou Ἡραῖον (?) de Junon)."

<sup>115</sup> In Γάζα.

<sup>116</sup> The title **ΖΕΥΣ ΚΡΗΤΑΓΕΝΗΣ** occurs on the Greek Imperial coins of Crete (Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 301).



Saulcy has published<sup>117</sup> a very curious passage on this subject, which was pointed out to him by M. François Lenormant. The passage, which is taken from the fragment of Damascius,<sup>118</sup> runs as follows:—Τό τε ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐθεία ὁρθή μία, καὶ τρεῖς πλάγιοι ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἥ τε κορυφαία καὶ δύο μετ' αὐτὴν . . . . παρὰ Γαζαίοις τοῦ Διός, and De Saulcy adds, "on voit que c'est la description rigoureusement exacte du *mem* phénicien, initiale du mot Marna, dont le sens littéral est 'notre seigneur.'" This interpretation, therefore, agrees with that given by the writer in the *Jewish Chronicle*, above referred to.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Claudius.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΑΓΡΙΠ. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ. Within a wreath. (Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 492, from Vaillant; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 110; De Saulcy, Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 27, No. 8.)

Tiberias was the name of the city built on the Lake of Gennesareth by Herod Antipas.<sup>119</sup> It came to Agrippa I. in A.D. 40, when Caius conferred upon him the dominions of Herod Antipas.

This piece is not alluded to by De Saulcy in his new work on the "Num. de la Terre-Sainte."

HEROD AGRIPPA I. AND HEROD AGRIPPA II.



*Obv.*— . . . . ΛΕΥΣ ΑΓ . . . . . Head of Agrippa I. to the right, laureate.

<sup>117</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 210, note.

<sup>118</sup> Ed. Ruelle, p. 97, Fragm. 3. <sup>119</sup> See "Herod Antipas."

*Rev.*—ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Agrippa II. on horseback, cantering to right. In the field, under the belly of the horse, **L. B.**

The following remarks on this rare piece may be found in my book.<sup>120</sup> "This coin is described by Wise (Cat. of Coins in Bodleian Lib., Oxford, p. 118), who saw it in the hands of a friend, David Bosanquet. There is a woodcut given of it, and it somewhat resembles the coins of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, King of Commagene, on which his two sons (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΥΙΟΙ), Epiphanes and Callinicus, are represented on horseback (Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 492). Agrippa I. appears to have treated this Antiochus and other kings with entertainments at Tiberias (Jos., "Antiq." xix. 8, 1). A similar coin is described by Mionnet (Suppl., vol. viii. p. 364, No. 21), from Sestini [Lett. Cont. t. v. p. 103], and attributed to Agrippias Anthedon. Beneath the horseman on the reverse is the date **L. B** (year 2). These coins are not above suspicion, and I am not aware if specimens now exist."

These words of mine were reproduced by M. de Saulcy in his "New Observations on Jewish Coins,"<sup>121</sup> to which he added that "cette rare monnaie, je l'ai retrouvée, et j'en place la figure sous le No. 9 de la Pl. XVI. C'est bien **ΥΙΟΥ** que porte la légende du revers, et non **ΥΙΟΕ**, comme l'avait cru Sestini."

In my reply to M. de Saulcy's observations<sup>122</sup> I recorded simply the fact of his discovery;—"This coin M. de Saulcy has found (but he does not say where it is), &c. . . . It is certainly a most remarkable coin."

This *simple remark* brought forth the following state-

<sup>120</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 111.

<sup>121</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, p. 25 (*tirage à part*).

<sup>122</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 209.

ment from M. de Saulcy,<sup>123</sup>—"Au sujet d'une rare monnaie d'Agrippa I. et d'Agrippa II., perdue de vue depuis longtemps et que j'ai eu le bonheur de retrouver, *M. Madden se formalise entre parenthèses, sur ce que je ne dis pas où cette pièce est actuellement. Je tiens à le satisfaire sur ce point. Elle était chez moi, il y a quelque temps, mais elle n'y est plus. Je désire que ce renseignement lui soit agréable.*"

The italics are mine. The original needs no comment.

It now appears from De Saulcy's publication of the coin in the paper to which I have made frequent reference,<sup>124</sup> that this rare piece is in the collection of M. A. Parent.

The date **L. B** refers to Agrippa I. The second year of Agrippa I. would be A.D. 38—39. We know from Josephus<sup>125</sup> that Agrippa II. was seventeen years of age on the death of his father in A.D. 44, so that at the time when this coin was issued he must have been a boy of about twelve years of age.

#### G. HEROD, KING OF CHALCIS.

A.D. 41—A.D. 48.

There are no coins of Herod, King of Chalcis, struck in Judæa, those given to him in my book having, as we have seen (under HEROD I.), been restored to Herod I.

He died in A.D. 48;<sup>126</sup> and his kingdom was given to his nephew Agrippa II. by the Emperor Claudius.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

<sup>123</sup> Revue Archéologique, 1866, p. 334.

<sup>124</sup> Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 27, No. 9.

<sup>125</sup> "Antiq." xix. 9, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 5, 2.

(To be continued.)

## VI.

### HISTORICAL NOTES RELATING TO THE NAVAL HONORARY MEDALS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

I HAVE the pleasure of bringing to your notice this evening a few historical notes, which I have collected as a supplement to the late Mr. E. Hawkins' interesting paper on the Naval Honorary Medals of the Commonwealth in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, O.S., vol. xiii. p. 95.

My first notes relate to the *Second Medal* of Mr. Hawkins, i.e. that having the House of Commons on one side, and on the other the English and Irish shields suspended from an anchor, with the word "MERVISTI" (*Vertue*, Pl. XVI.). In the Draft Order Book of the Council of State, No. 31, now preserved among the Interregnum State Papers in the Public Record Office, is the original order of the Council determining the type of this medal:—

"*Die Jovis, 15<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1649.*—[Ordered] That y<sup>e</sup> Formes of y<sup>e</sup> Medalls which are now brought in to bee given to y<sup>e</sup> severall Mariners who have done good service this last Summer bee approved off, Viz<sup>t</sup> the Armes of y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>m</sup>monwealth on one side with *Meruisti* written above it, and y<sup>e</sup> picture of y<sup>e</sup> House of Co<sup>m</sup>mons on the other."

This extract is especially valuable as settling the date of the medal in question. It is here stated that the medal was to be given for services performed in the

summer of 1649. These services were probably those against Prince Rupert and the royalist fleet, for which the Commonwealth's admirals received the thanks of the Parliament.

Mr. Hawkins conjecturally dated this medal 1650-1, or subsequent to that given for "service done against six ships" on August 1st, 1650; and he says that as the reverse is from the same die as the small Dunbar medal of September 3rd, 1650, it might have been executed about the same time. The order of the Council, above quoted, places it, however, many months previously, viz., about the end of 1649.

Having compared them myself, I am quite certain that the representations of the House of Commons on these two medals are from the same die, and it thus appears that Simon used up his old die (originally engraved for the "*Meruisti*" medal) to make a reverse for the small Dunbar medal. This latter medal is very rare when having the House of Commons reverse; almost the only specimen in existence is the gold one in the British Museum.

Two other short orders, regarding the engraver of the medals, Thomas Simon, and his arrangements for striking them, are as follows:

"November 19th, 1649, afternoon.—[Ordered] That—Simmons shall have y<sup>e</sup> press in y<sup>e</sup> Tower for y<sup>e</sup> makeing of medalls, hee engageing himselfe y<sup>t</sup> hee will not make use thereof to any other purpose."

"*Die Mercurii*, 21<sup>o</sup> *Novembris*, 1649.—[Ordered] That Mr. Symmons doe put in security with one surety in 500<sup>li</sup> that he shall make no unlawfull use of the presse w<sup>ch</sup> he is to have from the Tower for y<sup>e</sup> making of certayne Medalls appointed for the seamen who have deserved well of the State."—*Draft Order Book No. 31 of the Council of State.*

These orders, I think, satisfactorily settle the date and occasions when given of Mr. Hawkins' *Second Medal*.

Turning now to Mr. Hawkins' *Third*, or the *Blake Medal*, I beg to submit an order of the Council of State of the 6th August, 1653, representing the first action taken by the Government on the matter:—

“Saturday, 6th August, 1653, afternoone.—[Ordered] That it be humbly reported to y<sup>e</sup> Parlam<sup>t</sup> from this Councell, That two gold Chaines to y<sup>e</sup> value of 800<sup>li</sup> a peece may be made and given to Gen<sup>ll</sup> Blake, and Gen<sup>ll</sup> Monke, as a marke of flavor from y<sup>e</sup> Parlam<sup>t</sup> and a token of their good acceptance of y<sup>e</sup> eminent Services p<sup>r</sup>formed by them ag<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dutch; and y<sup>t</sup> a Chaîne to y<sup>e</sup> value of 100<sup>li</sup> may be made and given to Vice-Adm<sup>ll</sup> Pen, and one of y<sup>e</sup> same value to Reere-Adm<sup>ll</sup> Lawson upon y<sup>e</sup> same Consideration. And Mr. Moyer, and Mr. Courtney are desired to make this report to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament.”—*Page 190, Entry Book No. 98 of the Council of State.*

The report was accordingly made to the Parliament by Mr. Moyer, on Monday, the 8th August, 1653, as noticed by Mr. Hawkins in his paper, page 103. See also the *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. vii. p. 296.

On the 2nd December in the same year, the Parliament ordered £1,500 to be issued by warrant to Thomas Simon, in part payment of £2,000 for the chains and medals (see Mr. Hawkins' paper, page 104). It is noticeable that the Council made a similar order on the same day, viz.:—

“Friday, 2nd December, 1653.—[Ordered] That Warrants be issued to the Com<sup>mission</sup> for prize goods for payment of one thousand pounds to the Com<sup>mission</sup> at Little Brittain for reliefe of sick and wounded men. As alsoe for the s<sup>u</sup>me of ffifteene hundred pounds to Mr. Thomas Simons, Goldsmith, in part of the two thousand pounds ordered by Parlam<sup>t</sup> for Chaines and Meddalls to be given to the Generalls and Officers of the fleet, notwithstanding any former Orders to the Com<sup>rs</sup> for prize goods to the Contrary.”—*Page 158, Entry Book No. 100 of the Council of State.*

It is probable that the medals were in a very forward state at the time of this order (December, 1653); and from another entry in the Council books I conclude that they were finished in the following February. Cromwell had in the meantime been installed as Lord Protector, 16th December, 1653, so that the following order was made by the Protector's new Council of State:—

"Tuesday, 28th February, 1653-4.—[Ordered] That his Highness y<sup>e</sup> Lo. Protector be attended by . . . [blank] . . . to the intent his Highness direcon may be rec<sup>d</sup> in what ma<sup>n</sup>er the Medalls p<sup>r</sup>pared for the Gen<sup>ls</sup> of the fleet shalbe disposed of."—Page 57, *Draft Order Book No. 77* of the Protector Oliver's Council of State.

It was no doubt very shortly after this recommendation from the Council that the Protector bestowed the medals and chains upon the admirals. We are told in all the lives of Monk that Oliver invited him to a grand dinner, at which the Protector himself placed the chain (to which the medal was suspended) around Monk's neck. See also Kimber's "Life of Oliver Cromwell." George Vertue ("Works of Thomas Simon," page 27, edit. 1753) states that several of these naval medals were given by the hands of the Protector Oliver. The interesting circumstance of this personal presentation is not, however, mentioned by Mr. Hawkins.

In conclusion, I will only add that the extracts from the State Papers, given above, were carefully copied by myself from the original records.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band II., Part I., contains the following articles :—

1. A. von Sallet. "On Artists' Signatures on Greek Coins."  
2. J. Friedlaender. "On the Coins attributed to Cotys III. and his son Sadales II., kings of Thrace." These coins Friedlaender restores to Iptuci in Hispania Bætica, and shows that the former attribution originated in a misreading of Sestini's.

3. J. Friedlaender. "On some Enigmatical Letters on Coins of the time of Diocletian."

4. J. Friedlaender. "Supplement to the Coins of the Chiefs of East Friesland."

5. S. A. Bergsöë. "On a Coin of Waldemar IV., Duke of Jutland." With an additional note by Dr. E. Merzbacher.

6. J. Friedlaender. "Amisus under the name of Samisus or Samisoe."

7. Th. Mommsen. "On the Finds of Roman denarii at La Riccia, S. Miniato, Palestrina, and Vigatto." Of these finds the first, consisting of about 3,000 denarii and 150 victoriati, is of no small importance, as it must have been deposited about 30 years before that of Cazlona, hitherto the oldest which has come to light. We can only express a hope that so precious a historical document may not be deprived of all its value by being dispersed, and we cordially agree with Professor Mommsen when he says that every museum ought to be proud to possess such a treasure in its entirety, and that there can be no doubt that much light would be thrown upon the chronological order of the early Roman series from the repeated study of a *trouvaille* like this by a competent numismatist.

8. Th. Mommsen. "On Coins with the Portraits of the Proconsuls of Asia and Africa."

9. A. von Sallet. "On a Thraco-Macedonian silver stater, with the inscription  $\Sigma\Lambda\Gamma\Lambda\epsilon\Omega\text{N}$ ." This unique coin, the style and weight of which clearly indicate its origin, must be assigned to some hitherto unknown town or tribe in the neighbourhood of the Orrheskii.

10. R. Lietzmann. "On Mediæval Coins of Aix-la-Chapelle."

In Part II. are the following articles :—

1. J. Friedlaender. "Zeus Troios, Zeus Aseis, and Zeus Osogo."



2. J. Friedlaender. "On a denarius of Hadrian's travels. **ADVENTVI AVG HISPANIAE**," with a tripod and a lion between the two figures on the reverse.

3. J. Friedlaender. "Taulara in Pontus, and not Aulari in Paphlagonia." In this article Dr. Friedlaender, on the strength of a coin reading **TAYΛAPΩN**, restores to the former city the coins which have hitherto been given to the latter, which probably never had any existence outside the works of numismatists. That the coins in question were of Pontus rather than of Paphlagonia has been conjectured before (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. XIII. p. 122); the inscription on Dr. Friedlaender's coin proves it.

4. J. Friedlaender. "On a Legionary Coin of Augustus." A unique denarius, the reverse of which has a lion and **LEG XVI.**, here assigned to Mauretania.

5. A. von Sallet. "On Coin-types copied by the Ancients." A very instructive article, in which a large number of imitated coins are cited, and the artistic influence exercised by certain coins of Syracuse, Macedon, &c. &c., is traced. Dr. von Sallet concludes by warning his readers against attaching too much importance to casual resemblances in the art-work of coins and sculptures, for it is not to be supposed that the die-engravers were in any way connected with the great schools of sculpture, such as the Æginetan, the Athenian, &c.

6. A. von Sallet. "On the Coins of the Greek Kings of Salamis in Cyprus, and modern Forgeries of the same." In this paper the attributions of Brandis and others are criticized, and the coins hitherto given to Nicocles restored to Nicocreon.

7. A. von Sallet. "On Arcadian Coins with **ΟΛΥ**, **ΟΛΥΜ** (Olympus?) and **ΧΑΡΙ** (Charisia?) on the reverse." In this article, Dr. von Sallet attributes the coins of the First Achæan League (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. XIII., Pl. VII., Fig. 3) to Charisia in Arcadia. In this attribution we are unable to agree with him.

8. F. Bardt. "Contributions to Pomeranian Numismatics."

9. H. Dannenberg. "On the Coins of the Netherlands."

10. J. Friedlaender. "On the Coins of Faldern."

11. P. Lambros. "On unpublished Coins of the Achæan League, and on Marks of Value on Greek Coins." (Translated from the Greek.)

The part concludes with Reviews of Grueber's "Catalogue of Roman Medallions," Head's "History of the Coinage of Syracuse," &c. &c.

In Part III. are the following articles:—

1. P. Brock. "Examination of the Coins of the Later

Roman Emperors, with especial reference to the Mint-marks, &c., upon them." This article is divided into five sections:— (i.) The peculiar Mint-marks of the time of Philip. (ii.) Whether or not it is to be assumed that the Coins of Philip distinguished by marks were all struck at the same time." (iii.) Whether or not the above Coins were all struck at the Roman Mint. (iv.) On the signification of the Marks on the Coins struck during Philip's reign. (v.) The Coins of the year of Jubilee, A.D. 248.

2. J. Friedlaender. "On the Coins of the Achæan League attributed to Arcadia." Dr. Friedlaender expresses his disagreement with Von Sallet's attribution of the Coins of the first Achæan League to Charisia in Arcadia; but neither he nor Von Sallet appear to be acquainted with Gardner's attribution of the coins in question to about B.C. 340, when the League was at the height of its power, just before the battle of Chæroneia (Num. Chron., N.S., Vol. XIII. p. 182).

3. A. von Sallet. "On Alexandrian Coins of Pescennius Niger and Gordian III.," the latter with an enigmatical (blundered?) legend.

4. A. von Sallet. "On an Associate in the Empire with Aurelian, inferred from the billon denarii."

5. S. Bergsöö. "The Pretended Evidences of the Invasions of Denmark by the Vandals."

6. F. v. Duhn. "On the Coins with the inscription **IDN**⊗."

7. Ernst Curtius. "On the Coins of Olympia." This important article forms an interesting sequel to that on "The Religious Character of Greek Coins," a translation of which by Mr. Head appeared in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE for 1870, p. 91. In the present paper Professor Curtius confines himself to certain coins of Elis, the connection of which with the temple at Olympia he establishes beyond all reasonable doubt. Two small gold coins with the legend **ΠΙΣΑ**, attributed by M. Bompois to Cyrenaica, Professor Curtius restores to Elis, and attributes them to the Theban period of political restorations, when the people of Pisa, under the protection of the Arcadians, regained their long-lost presidency of the Olympian games, and celebrated the 104th festival in B.C. 364. The extreme rarity of these gold coins is one proof of the short-lived existence of the Pisatan mint, which in less than two years again fell into the hands of the Eleians.

The part concludes with the usual notices of numismatic works.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift of Vienna*, Vol. IV., Jan.-June, 1872, published in 1874, contains the following articles:—

1. Otto Blau. "On the Coins of Sadocus, Dynast of the Thracian Odrysæ." In this article the uncertain silver staters engraved by De Luynes, Satrapies, Pl. XVI., 49-51, with the head of Pallas on one side, and a full-face helmeted head upon the other, are attributed to Sadocus, son of Sitalces, king of the Thracian Odrysæ. Dr. Blau reads the Aramaic inscription *le-Sadok-Melek*, and he supposes Sadocus to have held his territories as a vassal of the Great King, under the immediate jurisdiction of Pharnaces, the Satrap of Mysia. Thus he accounts for the use in Thrace of the Aramaic character. The date which Dr. Blau assigns to these coins is about B.C. 430. Sadocus would thus appear to have been a predecessor of Scuthes I., who is generally supposed to have been the immediate successor of his uncle Sitalces, who was slain in battle B.C. 424. The coins of this Scuthes are well known, and bear the inscription **ΣΕΥΘΑ ΚΟΜΜΑ** in the Greek character. We confess that Dr. Blau's arguments, however ingenious, fail to convince us that his attribution is the correct one.

2. Prokesch-Osten. "On a Coin of Orodes, King of Armenia, son of Artabanus III."

3. J. Neudeck. "On unpublished or very rare Roman Copper Coins of the Republic."

4. F. Kenner. "On the title of 'Imperator' used by Titus."

5. J. von Kolb. "On the Enigmatical Letters on the Coins of Diocletian and Maximian." This paper has already been noticed Num. Chron., N.S., Vol. XIV. p. 268.

6. A. Tauber. "On a Silver Medallion of the Emperor Focas."

7. A. Luschin. "Contributions to the Numismatic History of the Five Districts of Lower Austria."

8. D. A. Sturdza. "View of the Coins and Medals of the Dukes of Roumania" (Moldavia and Wallachia).

9. A. Luschin. "On a Medal of Count Carl Ludwig von Sulz."

10. C. Ernst. "On the Silver Currency of Germany of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

The *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1875, Part I., contains the usual amount of matter on mediæval and modern numismatics.

The "Portfolio" for February and March contains a treatise by H. Virtue Tebbs, Esq., on Greek coins as illustrating History and Art. The article in question is the substance of a paper read at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in October last, where Mr. Tebbs' magnificent collection of electrotypes from Greek coins was then exhibited. The present treatise, which is

addressed to the artistic public rather than to numismatists, has the merit of conveying in a few clear words, to the mind of any one possessed of a slight knowledge of Greek history and geography, an idea of the advantages to be derived from a collection of Greek coins, and of the light which they throw upon ancient history, and more especially upon the history of Greek art, the rise, progress, and decay of which can be thus brought visibly before our eyes in a manner which is unattainable by any other means whatsoever.

Two large autotype plates accompany the article. The first contains specimens of the archaic coins in electrum and silver, and by its aid we can trace the first beginnings of the art of coinage, and its subsequent development and extension in early times over the whole of the Greek world.

The second plate exhibits a selection of many of the finest specimens of the best period of Greek art, arranged in local schools as follows :—

I. The School of Peloponnesus and Northern Greece, characterised by a sculpturesque style of art. This is called the School of Form.

II. That of the Ionian coasts, distinguished by a pictorial style, which Mr. Tebbs calls the School of Expression.

III. That of Sicily, the chief characteristics of which are a somewhat exaggerated style, and the agonistic types of the reverses.

IV. The Cretan or Naturalistic School, which is intermediate between the Sculpturesque School of Greece proper and the Pictorial School of Ionia.

V. The Asiatic School of Oriental Formalism, distinguished by its architectural style.

VI. The Glyptic or gem-like school of execution, peculiar to the Greek colonies in Italy.

The plate is completed by a selection of portraits from the regal series, after the time of Alexander the Great.

This method of classification is almost identical with that first promulgated by Mr. Poole in his lecture at the Royal Institution, printed in the *NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE*, 1864, p. 236.

Mr. Tebbs has carefully filled in the outlines of the scheme then indicated by Mr. Poole, and deserves much credit for the taste which he has shown in the choice of coins which tend to support his theories. Whether or not these theories are well founded is, in our opinion, doubtful. Certainly there are exceptions which would hardly go to "prove the rule." In our own opinion, much of the so-called local style is due to the influence of individual artists, who on their parts were influenced in their work by the coins which passed most frequently through

their hands in the ordinary course of trade; that is to say, they copied, of course with numerous adaptations, and unintentionally perhaps in many cases, either the most beautiful specimens with which they were acquainted, or those the commercial reputation of which happened to stand highest for purity of metal and good weight, without being themselves the pupils or impressing on their works the characteristics of any particular school of art.

Be this, however, as it may, we heartily commend "The Portfolio" to all who love pure Greek art. These splendid plates cannot fail to impress the most casual observer with some idea of the simplicity, power, and artistic grace of the coins of the ancient Hellenes.

B. V. H.

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### MISCELLANEA.

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THE CULLODEN MEDALS.—The subjoined extracts from the *London Gazette* supply some interesting particulars relative to a medal engraved by Yeo in commemoration of the Duke of Cumberland's victory at Culloden.

The medal referred to is a large circular one, two inches in diameter, and bearing on the obverse a bust of the Duke in profile to the right, bare-headed, and in armour; a lion's skin across his breast. Legend: GULIELMUS · GEOR · II · R · FIL · DUX · CUMBRLE. On the reverse are three emblematic figures: to the left is Rebellion prostrate, with a serpent in his hand; in the centre is Hercules, standing with his foot on Rebellion, and adjusting the dress of Britannia, who is seated on the right. Hercules wears the lion's skin, and Britannia has her spear and the shield emblazoned with the union-jack. Inscription on exergue: PERDVELLIB · EX · ANG · FVGAT · AD · CULLOD · DEBELLAT · 16 · APR · 1746. On the obverse is the artist's name in small letters, under the arm: R · YEO · F.

The advertisements state that these medals were struck in gold, silver, and copper. Specimens in these three metals are now in the British Museum. The portrait was taken from life. The obverse was copied by other medallists, viz. Kirk and Holtzhey, for medals commemorating the same event.

It is well known that Yeo executed another medal on this occasion. In shape it is an irregular oval, with ornamental scroll border and a loop for suspension. Size of the whole 2·2 by 1·5 inches. Obverse: a small profile-head of the Duke

of Cumberland to the right; the word CUMBERLAND above. Against the lower margin, in minute letters, YEO . F. Reverse: Apollo standing, looking to the left, and leaning on his bow. Behind him lies the Python of Rebellion, pierced with an arrow. Legend above, ACTUM · EST ILICET · PERIIT. In exergue, PRÆL · COLOD · AP · XVI · MDCCXLVI. In the British Museum are impressions in gold and copper; the gold one weighs 627 grains.

It appears from the following extracts that Richard Yeo lived for some time in the Strand. It is curious to notice that Thomas Simon, a predecessor and superior in the same art, also lived in the Strand.

According to the Rev. Rogers Ruding, it was not until 1750-1 (24th of George II.) that Yeo was made Engraver to the Royal Mint, or about four years after he had finished the Culloden Medals.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

[EXTRACTS.]

*“ Propos'd to be publish'd by Subscription.*

A Medal by Mr. Yeo, representing on one Side a Profile of his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, and on the Reverse, (emblematically by three Figures) Rebellion discomfited, and Britannia redress'd by Vertue.

“Note, He has had the Honour to engrave, by his Royal Highness's Command, his Profile from the Life on a Seal: Which, with many other Opportunities since, induc'd him to this Attempt. He has spar'd no Pains to render it as compleat and as like as he could, how far he has succeeded, he submits to the Decision of the Curious.

“One Medal in Gold is two Guineas for the Fashion, to be paid on Subscribing, and the Value of the Gold on Delivery. One in Silver is one Guinea, half on Subscribing, and half on Delivery. Subscribers may depend on having the first Impressions. Such as desire them in Copper, on sending their Names, will have them struck next after those subscrib'd for, at Half a Guinea each.

“A Proof of the Head, and Design for the Reverse, may be seen at his Lodgings at Mrs. Sutcliff's, a Druggist near Craven Street in the Strand, London.

“Notice will be given when finish'd.”

—*London Gazette*, p. 3, No. 8,510, February 11th to 15th, 1745 (-6).

"Mr. Yeo's Medals,

"Published by Subscription, and struck on Occasion of the Expulsion of the Rebels from England, and Defeat at Culloden, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland,

ARE now to be sold in Silver at one Guinea each, and in Copper at Half a Guinea each, at his Lodgings, the Sign of the Rising Sun in Tavistock-street, Covent Garden, and no where else. Such Persons as desire to have them in Gold, on Notice given, may have them struck for two Guineas each, more than the Value of the Gold. Note, Each MEDAL contains about three Ounces fine Gold."\*

—*London Gazette*, p. 3, No. 8,600, December 23rd to 27th, 1746.

#### CURIOUS COPY OF FOLKES' COINS.—

*To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

SIR,—Among the numismatic works in my possession I find a small folio or perhaps large 8vo. vol., consisting of over 140 plates of coins (Folkes'), which I presume to have been his own copy. It is lettered on the back "Folkes Plates of Coins Proofs," and contains from two to five proof-sheets of all his plates, except the supplemental ones, in different stages of their progress of being engraved, with manuscript remarks and directions, in an old hand, as to alterations and additions for several plates previous to their being finally struck off by the engraver (Perry), from which I select the following:—On the top of Plate III. (silver, Edward I., II., III.) are the words "Last Prooff perfect" (I follow the original orthography), and on the back, "Exam<sup>d</sup> & finish<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> 1, 1760." Then follow three proofs of Plate IV., each in a different state. Of Plate V. there are three proofs. The first, as often occurs, has a blank at top for additional coins to be inserted in the next proof; and accordingly in proof No. 2 we have them, and on proof No. 3 is written "last prooff pf<sup>t</sup>" (perfect). There is, however, another proof, numbered VI., which has on the top "3<sup>d</sup> Design," and at the bottom "In y<sup>e</sup> Museum are 3 throne pennies wh<sup>h</sup> are not here—1, T D over y<sup>e</sup> shield; 2, Portcluse (*sic*) m<sup>b</sup> m<sup>k</sup> (mint mark); 3, D. S on y<sup>e</sup> side." On the back of this proof is pencilled "memorand<sup>m</sup>: the last Prooff not brought, However all amendments are made right;" and in ink "Exam<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1 1760." There are two proofs of Plate VII., a finished

\* A fine specimen in gold in the British Museum weighs 148 grains over the three ounces Troy.

and an unfinished one, with the bare remarks on the last, "Point," "Point," with a down-stroke from each to the coin marking where the engraver should place the "Point." There are three proofs of Plate VIII. (Henry VIII.) On the top of the second is "Silver Plate VIII. in its original form," and at the bottom "no legend at either side. This was not Mr. Folkes collec<sup>tn</sup>." Two proofs are given of Plate IX. (Edward VI., side face). At the bottom of the first is pencilled "Enquire of Mr. White for y<sup>e</sup> base Shilling mark<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lion Harp and flowerdeluce," and on the back, in ink, "Memorand<sup>m</sup>: Mr. Lochiers teston like N<sup>o</sup> 9 plate IX. with TIMOR, &c., round y<sup>e</sup> head and MDXLII (*sic*) a dart y<sup>e</sup> Mint mark, weighs 54 gr<sup>s</sup>—& his EDWARD · VI. & round y<sup>e</sup> head INIMICOS ejvs. & EL round y<sup>e</sup> arms—Stadard of y<sup>e</sup> last year like (potin ?) washed w<sup>t</sup> 67 grs." Of Plate X. (still Edward VI.) we have no less than five proofs. On the first and second proof plates are engraved one crown, one half-crown, two obverses and one reverse of the full-faced shilling, one sixpence and one threepence, and a few MS. remarks, such as "First cancelled Plate," &c.; and on proof 3 two pennies—Rose and Throne—are added, and three pencilled circles for additional coins intended for the next proof, and in these circles there is pencilled—1, "York threepence;" 2, "Front of the fine sixpence;" and 3, the word "Reverse"—I presume of the York sixpence. And accordingly these three additional coins appear engraved on the next proof. An ornamented blank or space is left on the top in several of the proofs, for the number of the plate, which is always given in the last proof. But I must pass on to Plate XVII. (James I.), of which there are four proofs—No. 1 differing from all the others in being engraved on a dark ground; on the bottom of this appears in pencil, "This plate less than the rest"—the engraved part being somewhat shorter than any of the others—and also, "Can this ground be taken out and some other coins added?" and in a different hand, "Ans<sup>r</sup>: yes." On the top of this plate occurs in pencil, "A new plate with Exsurgat." None, however, of the Exurgat coins are given, except those on Plate XVI.; but the next proof appears on the usual plain ground. Passing over several observations, I proceed to Plate XXVI. (Charles I.), of which we have four proofs. The first has only two coins engraved on it, viz. obverse and reverse of two crowns: Chester, with CHST. under the horse, and the other with ground under horse. Proof No. 2 has a third coin, viz. a crown struck on a square or rather oblong plaque. The third proof has nine additional coins engraved on it, with the ornament for the



number of the plate filled up—"Plate XXVI.;" and on the back the following directions are pencilled: "Take out 10, 11, 12; put N° 10 into y<sup>e</sup> place of 12, front & reverse; put y<sup>e</sup> front only of N° 12 into y<sup>e</sup> place of y<sup>e</sup> front & Rev. of no. 11; put y<sup>e</sup> front of no. 11 above no. 8, and put y<sup>e</sup> Rev. of no. 11 below no. 8. Take out all y<sup>e</sup> figures;" and accordingly we find all these directions attended to in the following and last proof of this plate, on the top of which is "fin. Dec<sup>r</sup> 8, 1759." Plate XXVII. (siege pieces) has three proofs, all differing in alterations and amendments. On the back of one is the following: "Alter figures and compleat y<sup>e</sup> plate by inserting y<sup>e</sup> rest." Plate XXVIII. has three proofs. The first coin engraved on No. 1 is what is called the Rebel crown (Irish) and the last the Cork shilling. On proof No. 2 the first coin is

the Rebel half-crown, with only  $\overset{s}{I} \cdot \overset{D}{VI}$  on the reverse. On the back, however, is written, "Clean off all blotches. Enquire whether N° 1 sh<sup>d</sup> be  $\overset{s}{II} \cdot \overset{D}{VI}$ ? Ans<sup>r</sup>: it shoud (*sic*), & therefore make it so." And on the following proof we find

the  $\overset{s}{II} \cdot \overset{D}{VI}$  correctly engraved. Perhaps I should have stated that various additions of the Newark, Scarborough, and Carlisle pieces are engraved on these later proofs, the last having on the top the word "finished." But I pass on to Plate XXXIX. (George I.), of which two proofs are given. The first, as has often occurred, has neither the number nor ornamental space for it engraved. On the top of this proof is pencilled, "Take y<sup>e</sup> Roses & feathers out." The number of the plate appears in pencil, "XXXIX.," and lower down, "Take out y<sup>e</sup> inner point after D., &c.," and on the back, "May 1, 1758. Delivered to Mr. Perry 20 coins." On the second proof the engraver's attention is directed to a "scratch" on one of the crowns, and told that "the Roses and feathers" were "taken out by mistake."

So far for the silver coinage. Of the first plate of the gold coinage, commencing with the noble of Edward III., there are two proofs. On the back of No. 1, and, as I presume, in the handwriting of the engraver, is the following: "Mem., Anulet c<sup>d</sup> not be alter<sup>d</sup> without taking it quite out." This, however, has a pen-stroke drawn through it. Again: "Take off 2 prooffs. Take out all y<sup>e</sup> figures—5½ noble with y<sup>e</sup> starr no. 6, Front and reverse, and bring 4 prooffs as it will then be." And in a different hand, "Enquire if Mr. White has Ever a Noble of Edw<sup>d</sup> III. like Either No. 1 or 2 in this plate, with y<sup>e</sup> flagg." In proof No. 2 the position of some coins is altered, and additional coins engraved, and on the back is pen-

cilled "Perry." | "This plate capable of great improvements—But—O<sup>e</sup> Constituents forget Festina lente;" and on the bottom "all transcribed and compared and finished Aug<sup>t</sup> 12, 1760." There are no less than six proofs of Plate II. The first is very curious. It contains only five coins of the Henries, with the obverse of a sixth. The names, not yet being engraved, are *written* over each, and on the top, "This an Entire new plate, which will occasion the alteration of y<sup>e</sup> Numbers of all y<sup>e</sup> following ones." On the back of the second we have: "Memorand<sup>m</sup>. I have certain information of a Hen. 8<sup>th</sup> Rose Ryal, & sorry I am we must not wait for it." On Proof No. 3 (back) is the following: "Put in y<sup>e</sup> top of y<sup>e</sup> mast by side of y<sup>e</sup> Q in y<sup>e</sup> coin last inserted, & add y<sup>e</sup> figure 14 to y<sup>e</sup> side of it. Take out 6 stops between IV and V and between V and VI;" and in another hand, "Q. Whether Mr. Whites Angel IHS AVTEM is an Hen VI. if so make room for it. And it is undoubtedly so & therefore put it in & weigs (*sic*) 79 grs. Mr. Whites  $\frac{1}{4}$  Ryal of Edw weighs 25 grs." "The Rev. of 14 is y<sup>e</sup> same as no. 10, pl. I.; y<sup>e</sup> Rev. of 15 is y<sup>e</sup> same as no. 3 in y<sup>e</sup> plate." On the top of proof 4 is written, "This plate has had another coin since Ap. 23," and at bottom, "Communicated by Dr. Matys Son." This will be understood by one of the coins being marked in ink "West"—lent, I presume, by a Westminster scholar, as appears by the following on the back of the plate: "Memorand<sup>m</sup>. The front of no. 14 not yet altered. Put over it HEN. IV., V. or VI., and number it 15. Ater (alter) 15 to 16. Memorand<sup>m</sup>. No. 15 was le<sup>t</sup> (lent) me by Dr. Matys Son who said it belongs to a West<sup>r</sup> scholar." There are, as I said, only five coins on the first proof, which are increased to fifteen in the last, and this has on the back, "Examined & finished Aug<sup>t</sup> 16, 1760." The additional coins engraved are those of Edward IV., Richard II., &c. I forgot to mention that the following is written on the back of the fifth proof: "The top of y<sup>e</sup> mast in y<sup>e</sup> Hen. IV., V. or VI. not yet put in, pray let it not be neglected; and the blurring between y<sup>e</sup> figures IV., V. or VI., to be amended." Of Plate IV. there are three proofs, with various additional coins and improvements. On the back of the third is pencilled, "Enquire of Mr. White if he has any other before y<sup>e</sup> 18 year or 84<sup>th</sup>." But as I fear I am intruding too much on the space of your very valuable and interesting Record, I will only ask room for a very few more samples. We have three proofs of Plate VIII. On the back of the first: "Q. Whether any other coins can be procured for this plate. Enquire about y<sup>e</sup> Weight of y<sup>e</sup> Sov<sup>n</sup> as in y<sup>e</sup> former proof."

"Take out line"—a line being engraved entirely across the plate, under the ornament for the numerals VIII., but which are not filled in until the next proof, which appears without the line—it having been, in the author's words, "taken out;" and this proof has on the back, "Examin<sup>d</sup> and finish<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 11, 1760." There are three proofs of Plate X. (gold of Elizabeth). At the bottom of the second proof is the following: "IHS AVTEM, &c. Whether a Tressure of 8 Curves filled with a lion under a Crown & flowerdeluce alternately a Sun, four of which 4 Rays form a Saltyre fleury. In y<sup>e</sup> center a full-blown rose." And on the back: "N<sup>o</sup> (1?) is a very remarkable coin—the Q's bust with a fore right face standing in a ship: the letter G in y<sup>e</sup> square flagg at y<sup>e</sup> head, & a large full-blown rose on y<sup>e</sup> side of it. Z : M : P : C<sup>e</sup> : A : I. i.e. magnæ provinciæ captæ auspiciis illius., viz., Virginia, which was taken and so called in honour of her about the time this Real was struck, as appears from its m<sup>t</sup> m<sup>k</sup> A 1585.1586." And under this again: "Near this time also she assisted the Dutch or Hollanders, and it may be supposed to refer to that; then it may be read multarum provinciarum confederatarum (conservatarum) auspicii, illius. But the first se<sup>m</sup>s (*sic*) most probable, because she refused the sovereignty of y<sup>e</sup> united provinces;" and lower down, "take out y<sup>e</sup> bars & make em wider. Put in Title, number y<sup>e</sup> Figures." Four plates only of the supplement appear, the first alone having a second proof—No. 1 varying considerably from No. 2, having different coins, none of which are named, as all are in No. 2. Occasionally we have the following—"a point wanting after," then follows the number of the coin, and sometimes "but must not stay to have it done." Also a remark now and then that such a coin "is not well done," "but haste, &c., must excuse it."

In conclusion, I have to say that I have reluctantly omitted various remarks and directions as to the finishing of several plates, and have merely given a hurried and imperfect sketch of what appears to me a very curious and interesting volume. Trusting that this description of it may prove worthy the attention of your readers,

I remain yours very truly,

WILLIAM C. NELIGAN.

Lee View Terrace,  
Cork, January 12, 1875.

## VII.

### LES DEUX DICAËA.

DANS le mémoire si intéressant, que M. H. F. Bompois vient de publier sur un didrachme d'Ichnae, dans le dernier volume du NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, ce numismatiste distingué a fait, p. 205, la remarque très-juste, qu'il ne faut pas classer à une même localité toutes les monnaies aux légendes ΔΙΚ, ΔΙΚΑ, ΔΙΚΑΙ, ΔΙΚΑΙΑ et ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛ, vu qu'il y avait deux villes du nom de Dicaea et que les types de ces pièces sont assez variés pour qu'il soit naturel d'admettre qu'elles appartiennent à deux séries diverses, l'une émise à Dicaea en Thrace non loin d'Abdère, laquelle d'après les lexicographes se nommerait aussi Dicaeopolis, l'autre frappée à Dicaea sur le golfe Thermaïque, que M. Bompois croit pouvoir identifier avec Ichnae de Macédoine.

Il est bien dommage que les listes des villes tributaires faisant partie de la confédération athénienne, telles qu'elles ont été publiées en dernier lieu dans le "Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum," vol. i., ed. A. Kirchhoff, Berl. 1873, p. 111, *seq.*, n'aient pas été consultées par M. Bompois, puisque ces documents officiels fournissent sur la question dont il s'agit, des renseignements complets et authentiques. Il est facile de s'en convaincre en construisant le tableau suivant. Les numéros sont ceux que les listes portent dans le "Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum."

No.	An.	Olymp.	Av. J.-C.		
226	1	81, 3	454	Δικ(αια) πα(ρ' "Αβδηρα).	(Δικ)αιο πολῖται.
227	2	4	453		
228	3	82, 1	452	Δίκαia παρ' "Αβ(δηρα).	
229	4	2	451	Δίκα(ια).	
230	5	3	450	Δίκαia παρ' "Αβδηρα.	(Δι)καio πολῖται ('Ερετριῶν
231	6	4	449	(Δ)ίκαia παρ' "Αβδ(ηρ)α.	[ἀποικοι.
232	7	83, 1	448		(Δικαιοπ)ολῖ.
233	8	2	447	Δ(ι)καia.	(Δικαι)ο πολῖται ('Ερετρι)ῶν
234	9	3	446	Δίκα(ια) πα(ρ' "Αβδηρα).	Δίκαia 'Ερετρι. [ἀποικοι.
235	10	4	445	Δίκαia παρ' "Αβδ.	
236	11	84, 1	444		Δίκαia 'Ε(ρετρι).
237	12	2	443		(Δί)καia 'Ε(ρετρι).
238	13	3	442		Δίκαia 'Ερετρι.
239	14	4	441		
240	15	85, 1	440	(Δ)ίκαia.	(Δ)ικ(αι)ο πολῖται(ι).
241	16	2	439		
242	17	3	438	Δίκαia παρὰ "Αβδηρα.	Δ(ικαιο)πο(λῖ)ται ('Ερετρι)ῶν.
243	18	4	437	Δ(ικαia) πα(ρὰ "Αβδη)ρα.	
244	19	86, 1	436		Δικαιοπολῖτ(αι) 'Ερετριῶν.
256	27	88, 1	428	Δίκα(ια) παρὰ "Αβδηρα.	
257	{28	2	427 }		Δικαιοπολῖται ('Ε)ρετριῶν.
	{29	3	426 }		
259	30	4	425		

On le voit, depuis la liste de la première année, Ol. 81, 3, jusqu'à celle de la trentième, Ol. 88, 4, les deux villes sont mentionnées chacune douze fois, et pour les distinguer l'une de l'autre, les scribes athéniens ont ajouté neuf fois au nom de la ville thrace l'indication de sa situation près d'Abdère et neuf fois à celle de l'autre Dicaea la mention de sa colonisation par les Erétréens. Bien plus, ils désignent cette dernière huit fois par le nom de ses habitants et quatre fois seulement par le nom de la ville et même ils écrivent deux fois, tout au long, afin qu'on ne puisse s'y méprendre Δικαιοπολῖται 'Ερετριῶν ἀποικοι.

Après cela il n'est plus possible, à mon avis, de douter que c'est à cette dernière ville qu'il faille attribuer la monnaie au type d'Erétrée, publiée par M. Bompois p. 273 et le bronze à la légende ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛ(ιτων) mentionné, p. 207, d'après Sestini.

De même il faudra laisser à Dicaea près d'Abdère la pièce en argent à la légende ΔΙΚΑΙΑ publiée par E. de Cadalvène, les monnaies à la tête d'Hercule et toutes celles qui offrent des têtes de bœuf semblables à celles qui sont représentées sur les monnaies d'Abdère. Car cette ville, unie par le commerce et par des relations continuelles avec les villes environnantes, a maintefois placé leurs types sur le revers de ses espèces. On y retrouve la tête de Mercure et le bouc d'Ænos, la dépouille de lion d'Apollonia, le lion de Cardia, la grappe de raisin de Maronée, le canthare de Mendé, la tête de bélier de Samothrace, etc. et très-souvent la tête de bœuf de Dicaea.

Il n'est pas facile de déterminer la position de la Dicaea des Erétréens, que Pline, iv. 17, énumère après Thermé et avant Pydna, Derra et Scioné. Avait-elle été fondée non loin de Méthoné, comme le suppose M. Koehler, "Urkunden des Delisch-Attischen Bundes," p. 175, ou bien faut-il la placer de l'autre côté en Chalcidique entre Gigonos et Spartolos, comme le fait M. Kiepert sur la carte qui accompagne le volume du "Corpus Inscriptionum"? Ce n'est pas à moi de le décider, mais en tout cas, il ne peut être question, ce me semble, de chercher les ruines de Dicaea sur l'emplacement d'Ichnae, car l'influence d'Athènes ne s'étendait pas si avant dans l'intérieur de la Macédoine et une ville située près de Pella, n'aurait pas payé régulièrement sa contribution pendant près de trente ans, à une confédération, en tête de laquelle se trouvait Athènes et dont Thermé ne faisait point partie.

Harpocraton et Suidas sont dans l'erreur en nommant Dicaeopolis la Dicaea près d'Abdère. Etienne de Byzance est mieux renseigné. Il sait que le nom de Dicaeopolites donné aux habitants de l'autre Dicaea, n'implique pas

de changement pour le nom de la ville et s'il la place en Thrace, comme Méthoné et Thermé, c'est qu'au cinquième siècle la Thrace ne finissait que là où commençait le royaume de Macédoine. La mention de Dicaea près d'Abdère manque au texte de cet auteur, tel qu'il est constitué aujourd'hui, mais de l'avis des commentateurs le passage est corrompu, et en suivant les indications fournies par les manuscrits, on en viendrait probablement à rétablir la mention des deux villes et à éliminer en même temps la phrase relative à Dicaearchie d'Italie, laquelle n'a rien à faire là.

Ce qui surtout rend intéressantes les listes des villes tributaires, c'est qu'en comparant la contribution que chaque cité avait à payer à une même époque, on arrive à se faire quelque idée de l'importance relative de beaucoup de villes assez obscures, par rapport à d'autres, qui par les nombreuses monnaies qu'elles ont fait frapper, sont devenues depuis longtemps célèbres en numismatique. Ainsi pour me borner à la Thrace et à la première époque, Abdère payait 15 talents, Ænos 12, Mendé 8, Scioné avec Thrambos 6, Samothrace 6 et Dicaea des Erétréens 4 comme Singos, tandis que Dicaea près d'Abdère ne contribuait qu'un demi-talent comme Neapolis, la colonie de Mendé et comme les Ægantiens.

En combinant ainsi les données fournies par les inscriptions avec celles que les monnaies nous offrent, il faut espérer qu'on arrivera un jour à éclaircir complètement la numismatique si riche et si variée des villes grecques de la Thrace et de la Macédoine. M. Bompois dans les différents mémoires qu'il a publiés, y a déjà beaucoup contribué pour sa part.

J. P. SIX.





TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINAGE OF AGRIPPA II.

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT.					F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT.					REMARKS.
A.D.	Chalcian Era.	Era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II.	Era of Kingdom of Agrippa.	Era of Neronias.	Chalcian Era.	Era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II.	Era of Tiberias or Kingdom of Agrippa.	Era of Neronias.		
44									Death of Herod Agrippa I.	
45										
46										
47										
48										
49	1				1				Death of Herod, King of Chalcis, in the 8th year of Claudius; Agrippa II. succeeds at close of A.D. 48.	
50	2				2					
51	3				3					
52	4				4					
53	5	1			5	1			Chalcis taken away from Agrippa II. He is appointed to Tetrarchy of Philip, when twelfth year of Claudius is over, about February, A.D. 53.	
54	6	2			6	2			Death of Agrippa II. receives from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, Julius of Perea, &c.	
55	7	3	1		7	3				
56	8	4	2		8	4				
57	9	5	3		9	5				
58	10	6	4		10 L. I	6				
59	11 ETOYC AI TOY KAI (and A)	7	5 ETOYC AI TOY KAI (and A)		11 ETOYC AI TOY KAI (and A)	7			Sixth year of Nero.	
60	12	8	6	1	12	8				
61	13	9	7	2	13	9	-1	1	Agrippa II. enlarges Casarea Philippi, and calls it Neronias.	
62	14	10	8	3	14	10	2	2		
63	15	11	9	4	15	11	3	3		
64	16	12	10	5	16	12	4	4		
65	17	13	11	6	17	13	5	5	Twelfth year of Nero; seventeenth year of Agrippa II. Jewish war begins.	
66	18	14	12	7	18	14	6	6	Capture of Jotapata. Surrender of Tiberias.	
67	19	15	13	8	19	15	7	7	Death of Nero. Galba. Otho. Vitellius.	
68	20	16	14 { ET. AI Vespasian Aug. L. IA Titus Aug. L. IA Domitian Cæs.	9	20	16	8	8	Vespasian Emperor. Titus and Domitian Cæsars. Domitian's expedition in Gaul and Germany. Conquest of Judæa.	
69	21	17	15	10	21	17	9	9		
70	22	18	16	11	22	18	10	10		
71	23	19	17	12	23	19	11	11		
72	24 ETO. { KA Domitian Cæs. ΔK	20	18 ETOY. HI Vesp. Aug.	13	24	20	12	12		
73	25 ET. KE Domitian Cæs.	21	19 { ETOY. IO Titus Aug. ETO. IO Domitian Cæs.	14	25	21	13	13		
74	26 { ETOY. K= Vespasian Aug. ETO. K= Titus Aug. ET. K= Domitian Cæs.	22	20	15	26 { ETOY. K= Vespasian Aug. ETO. K= Titus Aug.	22	14 { ET. AI Vesp. Aug. L. IA Titus Aug. L. IA Domit. Cæs.	14	Aristobulus, son of Herod, King of Chalcis, was about this time still King of Chalcis.	
75	27 { ETOY. KZ Vespasian Aug. ETO. KZ Titus Aug.	23	21	16	27 { ETOY. KZ Vespasian Aug. ETO. KZ Titus Aug.	23 ? ETO. KI Domit. Cæs.	15	15		
76	28	24	22	17	28	24 ? ETO. { KA Domit. Cæs. ΔK	16	16		
77	29 ETOY. KΘ Vespasian Aug.	25	23	18	29 { ETOY. KΘ Vespasian Aug. L. KΘ Titus Aug.	25 ? ET. KE Domit. Cæs.	17	17		
78	30	26	24	19	30	26 ? ET. K= Domit. Cæs.	18 ETOY. HI Vesp. Aug.	18		
79	31 ? ETO. AA Domitian Cæs.	27	25	20	31	27 ? ETO. KZ Domit. Cæs.	19 { ETOY. IO Titus Aug. ETO. IO Domit. Cæs.	19	Death of Vespasian. Titus.	
80	32	28	26	21	32	28	20 ETO. K Titus Aug.	20		
81	33	29	27	22	33	29 ? ETOY. KΘ Domit. Cæs.	21	21	Death of Titus. Domitian.	
82	34	30	28	23	34	30	22	22		
83	35 ET. or ETOY. EA Domitian [Imp. and Cæs.	31	29	24	35	31 ? ETO. AA Domit. Cæs.	23 ? ETO. KI Domit. Cæs.	23		
84	36	32	30	25	36	32	24 ? ETO. { KA Domit. Cæs. ΔK	24	Domitian takes the name of Germanicus.	
85	37	33	31 ? ETO. AA Domitian Cæs.	26 { ET. KE Cos. XII. Domit. ET. K= [Aug.	37	33	25 ? ET. KE Domit. Cæs.	25		
86	38	34	32	27	38	34 ? ET. ΔA	26 ? ET. K= Domit. Cæs.	26 { ET. KE Cos. XII. Domit. ET. K= [Aug.	Cos. XII. (twelfth consulship) of Domitian.	
87	39	35	33	28	39	35 ? ET. or ETOY. EA Dom. [Imp. and Cæs.	27 ? ETO. KZ Domit. Cæs.	27		
88	40	36	34	29	40	36	28	28		
89	41	37	35	30	41	37	29 ? ETOY. KΘ Domit. Cæs.	29		
90	42	38	36	31	42	38	30	30		
91	43	39	37	32	43	39	31 ? ETO. AA Domit. Cæs.	31		
92	44	40	38	33	44	40	32	32		
93	45	41	39	34	45	41	33	33		
94	46	42	40	35	46	42	34 ? ET. ΔA	34		
95	47	43	41	36	47	43	35 ? ET. EA Dom. Imp. and [Cæs.	35		
96	48	44	42	37	48	44	36	36	Death of Domitian. Nerva.	
97	49	45	43	38	49	45	37	37		
98	50	46	44	39	50	46	38	38	Death of Nerva. Trajan.	
99	51	47	45	40	51	47	39	39	Death of Agrippa II. in the third year of Trajan.	
100										

NOTE.—The queries placed against certain dates in my arrangement do not mean that the reading is doubtful, but that the coins may belong to either the era of the Tetrarchy of Philip II. or to the era of Tiberias.

## VIII.

### JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1864.

#### § III. COINS OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

(Continued.)

##### H. HEROD AGRIPPA II.

A.D. 48—A.D. 100.

Herod Agrippa II. was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros. At the time of his father's death, in A.D. 44, he was only seventeen years of age and was at Rome, being educated under the Emperor Claudius. At first, Claudius was disposed to send the young Agrippa to succeed his father in the kingdom, but being persuaded that he was too young to undertake the cares of a large kingdom, he decided to commit the government of Agrippa II. to the supervision of a procurator, Cuspius Fadus.<sup>127</sup>

In the eighth year of Claudius, which fell between the 25th of January, A.D. 48, and the 25th of January, A.D. 49, the uncle of Agrippa II., Herod, King of Chalcis, died, leaving three sons: Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife Mariamne, daughter of Joseph, nephew of Herod, and of Olympias (the daughter of Herod I. by Malthace);

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<sup>127</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 9, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, both of whom he had by his second wife Bernice, his niece (daughter of Agrippa I.). Claudius set aside these children and conferred the kingdom of Chalcis on Agrippa II.<sup>128</sup>

Four years later Claudius, having completed the twelfth year of his reign (25th January, A.D. 53), took from Agrippa II. the kingdom of Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof for four years, and gave him instead the tetrarchy of Philip II., Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abila, which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias.<sup>129</sup> This took place about February, A.D. 53.

On the 13th of October, A.D. 54, Claudius died and Nero succeeded him.

Nero in the first year of his reign (A.D. 54—55) gave to Aristobulus, the son of Herod, King of Chalcis, the government of Lesser Armenia, and bestowed upon Agrippa II. a certain part of Galilee, the cities of Tiberias and Taricheæ, with Julias, a city of Peræa, and fourteen villages near it.<sup>130</sup>

About A.D. 60, Agrippa II. and Bernice his sister—concerning the nature of whose equivocal intercourse with each other there had been some grave conversation, and who in consequence persuaded Polemo, King of Cilicia, to marry her<sup>131</sup>—paid a visit to the Roman governor Festus, at Cæsarea. It was before them that Paul made his famous speech which drew forth the ironical and contemptuous answer, “Thou wilt *soon* persuade me to be a Christian.”<sup>132</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Jos., “Antiq.” xx. 5, 2; “Bell. Jud.” ii. 12, 1.

<sup>129</sup> Jos., “Antiq.” xx. 7, 1; “Bell. Jud.” ii. 12, 8.

<sup>130</sup> Jos., “Antiq.” xx. 8, 4; “Bell. Jud.” ii. 13, 2. In this last passage Josephus mentions Abila, but it had already been given to Agrippa II. by Claudius (see note 129).

<sup>131</sup> Jos., “Antiq.” xx. 7, 8.

<sup>132</sup> The Authorised Version (Acts xxvi. 28) has—“*Almost* thou

After the decease of Festus, which took place probably about the end of A.D. 61,<sup>133</sup> Albinus was sent to Judæa as Procurator, and, according to Josephus,<sup>134</sup> it was about this time that Agrippa II. much enlarged the city of Cæsarea-Philippi, calling it *Neronias*, in honour of the Emperor Nero.

The Jewish war commenced in the second year of the government of Gessius Florus and the twelfth year of Nero,<sup>135</sup> and Josephus states,<sup>136</sup> that the twelfth year of Nero was the seventeenth year of Agrippa II.

It will therefore be necessary to examine here the question of the dates recorded in the passages of Josephus, as there is evidently some confusion.

Agrippa II. is King of Chalcis in the eighth year of Claudius. The eighth year of Claudius commenced 25th of January, A.D. 48, and ended 25th of January, A.D. 49.

The first year of Nero commenced 13th of October, A.D. 54, and ended 13th of October, A.D. 55. Consequently the *twelfth year* of Nero commenced 13th of October, A.D. 65, and ended 13th of October, A.D. 66.

If then the month of April, A.D. 66, was included in the seventeenth year of Agrippa II., we shall find by counting back that the month of April of the first year of Agrippa II. would be the month of April, A.D. 50, from which it is clear that the first year of Agrippa II. *could not*

persuadest me to be a Christian." On this question see Conybeare and Howson, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 367, *note*; T. Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 179, *note*.

<sup>133</sup> The Procurator question will receive attention in the next section of this series of papers.

<sup>134</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 9, 4.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., xx. 11, 1.

<sup>136</sup> Προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἐπτακαίδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4. The month *Artemisius* here alluded to corresponds to April—May, A.D. 66.

be the eighth of Claudius, which was included between 25th January, A.D. 48, and 25th of January, A.D. 49.

We should therefore perhaps read in Josephus "in the ninth year," instead of "in the eighth."

Chalcis was, however, taken away from Agrippa II. when he had been governor *four years*. This took place, as we have already shown, about February, A.D. 53, at the commencement of the thirteenth year of Claudius. The thirteenth year of Claudius commenced 25th of January, A.D. 53, and four years back would give us A.D. 49 for the commencement of the reign of Agrippa II. at Chalcis.

Were we then to retain the words of Josephus, "in the *eighth year* of Claudius," in one passage, we should perhaps read in the other "the *eighteenth year* of Agrippa," instead of "the seventeenth."

A table<sup>137</sup> will better elucidate the above statements:—

25th January,		A.D.		
8th year of Claudius	—48—	1		Agrippa II. succeeds Herod, King of
9th " "	—49—	2	1	Chalcis, at close of A.D. 48.
10th " "	—50—	3	2	
11th " "	—51—	4	3	
12th " "	—52—	5	4	
13th " "	—53—	6	5	—end of the royalty of Chalcis after
13th October,	—54—			four years' government.
1st year of Nero	—55—	7	6	
2nd " "	—56—	8	7	
3rd " "	—57—	9	8	
4th " "	—58—	10	9	
5th " "	—59—	11	10	
6th " "	—60—	12	11	
7th " "	—61—	13	12	
8th " "	—62—	14	13	
9th " "	—63—	15	14	
10th " "	—64—	16	15	
11th " "	—65—	17	16	
12th " "	—66—	18	17	April, A.D. 66 ('Αγρευισίου μηνός)
				Jos. "Bell. Jud.," ii. 14, 4.

All circumstances considered, it seems better to correct the words of Josephus, "in the eighth year of Claudius,"

<sup>137</sup> See also our General Table at end of this section.

to "the *ninth year* of Claudius," and to assume that the ninth year of Claudius, *i.e.* between January, A.D. 49, and January, A.D. 50, was the first year of Agrippa's reign at Chalcis. This era ended four years after in A.D. 53. The seventeenth year of Agrippa II. would in this case correspond to the twelfth year of Nero.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>138</sup> With reference to these dates De Sauley (*Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.*, 1869, p. 37) says:—"Si l'année xvii. d'Agrippa correspond à la douzième de Néron, comprise entre le 13 octobre 65 et le 13 octobre 66, c'est que forcément notre historien compte ces années de règne à partir du moment où Agrippa II. reçut la royauté de Chalcis. C'est en l'an 8 de Claude (24 janvier 48 à 24 janvier 49, *read* 25 janvier) que cela a eu lieu, et il y a bien exactement dix-sept ans entre ces dates." This is not correct. There are exactly "*dix-huit ans* entre ces dates" (see the Table above). In another passage (p. 41) De Sauley, after examining the dates, writes: "Tout deviendrait clair, si l'on remplaçait, dans le texte de Josèphe, l'année viii. par l'année ix.," whilst in a third place (p. 42), he adds, "Il est donc plus probable que c'est le chiffre 17 de l'année d'Agrippa, correspondante à l'année xii. de Néron, qui est inexact, et qu'il faut remplacer ce chiffre 17 par le chiffre 18. C'est là ce que nous admettons en définitive." These statements seem to contradict each other, but De Sauley in a Table eventually adopts the dates which I have given, and which I believe to be the correct ones.

The Rev. H. Browne, writer of the article *Chronology* in Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," referring to the succession of Agrippa II. to his uncle's dominions and to the passage in Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4), says that "for *ἐννεακαίδέκατον* we must read *έννεακαίδέκατον*," and adds that, "all indications point to the year 49, and it is remarkable that that is the year named by Orosius ('Hist.' vii. 6: 'ninth year of Claudius') from some lost source of intelligence; *ut Josephus tradit*, he says; but that is a mistake." But if any alteration should be made in this passage of Josephus, it should surely be to "*δὲκακαίδέκατον*," which, as the Table shows, would more correctly bring the year to A.D. 49.

Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 288, No. 1726) explains the passage in Josephus as follows:—"In the passage from the 'Wars,' Josephus reckons the reign of Agrippa, not as he had done in the case of Herod the Great by consular or Jewish years, viz., from every 1 January or 1 Nisan, but by actual years from the commencement of the reign of Agrippa *de facto* in the second quarter of A.D. 49. The reason of his here com-

About February, A.D. 53, commenced the era of the tetrarchy of Philip.

The era of the actual kingdom of Agrippa II. (or, as I called it in my book, the "era of Tiberias") commenced according to De Sauley in A.D. 55, when the addition was made to his territory. Whether Agrippa II. did commence counting this era in A.D. 55, or at a later date, will be discussed presently in these pages.

In A.D. 67, Vespasian conducted the Jewish war which Nero had committed to him. In the month of Artemisius (April—May), A.D. 67,<sup>139</sup> he entered Galilee, and after forty-seven days' siege took Iotapata, on the fifth day of the month Panemus (June—July), in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, A.D. 67.<sup>140</sup> On the fourth day of the same month Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and from thence to Cæsarea. Joppa was then taken.<sup>141</sup> Shortly after Vespasian removed from Cæsarea and went to Cæsarea-Philippi, where he spent twenty days with Agrippa II.<sup>142</sup>

Tiberias and Taricheæ, both of which cities formed part of the kingdom of Agrippa II., were next attacked by Vespasian "for the sake of Agrippa," as Josephus says.<sup>143</sup> Tiberias soon surrendered, and Taricheæ yielded

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putting in this way probably was that the historian, as the contemporary of this Agrippa, knew the exact time when his reign commenced, and could not with propriety, when giving the year of Nero's actual reign, adopt a different mode of calculation as to Agrippa's reign. Had Josephus computed the reign of Agrippa, like that of Herod, from 1 January or 1 Nisan next preceding his accession to the throne, the 19th April, A.D. 66, which was after the commencement of the new Roman year on 1 January and the new Jewish year on 1 Nisan, would necessarily have fallen under the eighteenth and not the seventeenth year of Agrippa."

<sup>139</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 7, 3.

<sup>140</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 7, 36.

<sup>141</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 1—4.

<sup>142</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 9, 7.

<sup>143</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." *loc. cit.*

on the 8th of Gorpiaëus (August—September).<sup>144</sup> Vespasian made a present of many of the prisoners to Agrippa II.<sup>145</sup>

Agrippa II. had for seven months been laying siege to Gamala when Vespasian came to his assistance. Shortly after Agrippa II. was wounded in the right elbow by a sling-stone.<sup>146</sup> Gamala was taken the 23rd of the month Hyperberetæus (September—October), A.D. 67.

No place in Galilee now remained but the small city of Gischala, and this surrendered to Titus.

About February, A.D. 68, Vespasian entered Gadara,<sup>147</sup> and about May, Jericho.<sup>148</sup> Vespasian then returned to Cæsarea, where he heard of the death of Nero and of the accession of Galba.<sup>149</sup> Vespasian immediately sent his son Titus to Galba, to receive his commands about the Jews; Agrippa II. accompanied him. On their way at Corinth they heard of the death of Galba<sup>150</sup> and that Otho had succeeded him. Titus immediately returned to his father, and Agrippa II. continued his journey to Rome.<sup>151</sup> During this year (A.D. 69) the Jewish war was suspended and Jerusalem was left to the factions of John and the Zealots, and of Simon.<sup>152</sup>

Otho, who only reigned ninety-five days, died, and

<sup>144</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 10, 10.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., *loc. cit.*

<sup>146</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., iv. 7, 3.

<sup>148</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 8, 1.

<sup>149</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 2.

<sup>150</sup> Galba was killed January 15, A.D. 69 (Clinton, F. R., vol. i. p. 52).

<sup>151</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 2; Tac., "Hist." i. 10; ii. 1, 2, 4. Whether Agrippa II. saw Otho or Vitellius who succeeded him, I cannot say, and he returned to Syria to join Vespasian some time in A.D. 69. ("Mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat."—Tac., "Hist." ii. 81.)

<sup>152</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 155, *seq.* Further



Vitellius, who was in Gaul, was chosen emperor.<sup>153</sup> He reigned only eight months and five days, and was slain on December 22nd, A.D. 69.

Meanwhile Vespasian, on the fifth day of the month Dæsius (May—June), A.D. 69, marched against those places which were not yet overthrown, and left nothing to the Jews but Herodium, Masada, Machærus, and Jerusalem.<sup>154</sup> After these successes, Vespasian again returned to Cæsarea, and there heard of the troubles at Rome and of the election of Vitellius.<sup>155</sup>

Of the election of Vespasian, it is necessary to say more than simply to record the fact.

According to the testimony of Tacitus,<sup>156</sup> Vespasian was elected emperor at Alexandria on the 1st of July (*Kal. Jul.*), A.D. 69, and in Judæa, where he then was, on the 3rd of July (*quinto nonas Julias*), and shortly after, July 15 (*ante idus Julias*), through all Syria. Suetonius<sup>157</sup> makes the same statement as regards the election at Alexandria on the *Kal. Jul.*, but with respect to the election in Judæa, says *quinto idus Julias* (July 11). The date given by Tacitus (July 1) is considered to be the correct one.<sup>158</sup> Josephus, on the other hand, relates<sup>159</sup> that when Vespasian had overthrown all the places near to Jerusalem he returned to Cæsarea, and there heard that Vitellius was elected emperor. Vespasian and his army were indignant, and the soldiers at a large meeting

particulars will be alluded to under the section "Coins of the Revolts."

<sup>153</sup> Vitellius entered Rome before 18th July, A.D. 69 (Tac., "Hist." ii. 91; Suet., "Vitell." 11).

<sup>154</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 9.

<sup>155</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 10, 2.

<sup>156</sup> "Hist." ii. 79—81.

<sup>157</sup> "Vesp." 6.

<sup>158</sup> See notes by Lipsius, Ernestius and Pagius to passages quoted.

<sup>159</sup> "Bell. Jud." iv. 10, 1—6.

declared Vespasian emperor, threatening him with death if he refused to accept the dignity. Upon this he wrote to Tiberius Alexander, the governor of Egypt and Alexandria (who had formerly—from A.D. 46 to A.D. 48—been procurator of Judæa<sup>160</sup>), asking his support, and the day on which Tiberius Alexander administered the oath to the soldiers, namely, the Kalends of July, A.D. 69, is considered to be the beginning of the reign of Vespasian.

The Jewish war, ending with the destruction of Jerusalem, was concluded by Titus in A.D. 70.

Agrippa II. (who resided at Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem and his people) is said to have received the honours of the prætorship and an accession of territory from Vespasian.<sup>161</sup> He died at Rome in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan, A.D. 100.<sup>162</sup>

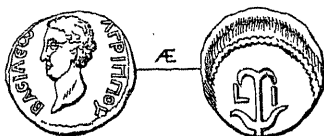
Agrippa II. was the last Jewish prince of the Herodian line.

<sup>160</sup> See under the "Procurators," § IV. This Alexander was afterwards a great friend of Titus and was made a general of the army under him (Jos., "Bell. Jud." v. 1, 6), and was present at the capture of Jerusalem (Jos., "Bell. Jud." vi. 4, 3.)

<sup>161</sup> Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," vol. iii. p. 86; Smith, "Dict. of Biog." vol. i. p. 78.

<sup>162</sup> Παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἡνέχθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιάνου, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ Τραιάνου. —Phot., "Cod." 33. Trajan, when in Germany, was adopted by Nerva in A.D. 97 (Victor, "Epit." p. 370; Plin., "Paneg." c. 8). Nerva died three months after, Jan. 25, A.D. 98, when Trajan succeeded him. In A.D. 99 Trajan returned to Rome. His third year of government will therefore be A.D. 100. Froelich ("Reg. Vet." p. 95) is also of opinion that Agrippa II. died in A.D. 100. He says:—"Enimvero . . . ex alio Josephi ipsius testimonio LIB. XVIII. Antiquit. C. V., pag. 885 [xviii. 5, 3] satis certo deducimus; proxime circa annum æræ Christi 100, Agrippam II. vitam finisse; ita habet de Herodis Magni posteris, Ἐγγε ἐντὸς ἑκατον ἐτῶν ἐξόδου συνέβη, πλὴν ὀλίγων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν, διαφθαρῆναι τοὺς Ἡρώδου ἀπογόνους. Herodes obiit anno ante æram Christi quarto; si igitur posterii Herodis,

## AGRIPPA II., WITHOUT THE NAME OF EMPEROR.



*Obv.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ.** Head of Agrippa II. to left, laureated (?)

*Rev.*—**L. I.** An anchor. (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 178; cf. Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 274; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 115; and De Sauley, Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, p. 28, A. No. 1.)

De Sauley has failed to keep himself *au fait* with the study of Jewish coins, and takes no notice of the republication of this piece in vol. iv. of the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

*Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II., without the Name of Emperor.*

De Sauley (p. 48) seems rather to question if this coin should be really attributed to Agrippa II., and, as I have already stated, was ignorant of the republication of this piece. He however, assuming that it is of Agrippa II., is uncertain to which era to ascribe the coin.

The year 10 of the era of Chalcis answers to A.D. 58—59.

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*præter paucos, intra sæculum obiere; inter paucos illos utique Agrippa II. fuit, quem ὑστατον (postremum) Herodiadum regnantium appellat Justus Tiberiensis, . . . qui itaque post sæculum, ab Herodis obitu, decessit; igitur circa annum centesimum ante Christianæ.*" De Sauley ("Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874) in one passage (p. 316) says that Agrippa II. died in A.D. 99, and in another (p. 335) in A.D. 100. Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 356, No. 2111) assigns his death to A.D. 99. Tillemont (quoted by Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 496) places his death in A.D. 93. I do not know on what authority.

The year 10 of the era of Philip corresponds to A.D. 62—63.

The year 10 of the kingdom of Agrippa is A.D. 64—65, or of the era of Tiberias, A.D. 70—71.

To which of these years shall the coin be assigned?

Mr. Reichardt,<sup>163</sup> when he first published this coin, assumed that Agrippa II. counted the years of his reign from his father's death in A.D. 44, but that he did not take the government at once till Claudius, in A.D. 53 (being the tenth year of his, Agrippa's, reign), bestowed upon him the title of king, on which occasion he thought himself entitled to cause coins to be struck in his name as king.

I have already stated<sup>164</sup> that I do not agree with the date given by Mr. Reichardt, and that I did not consider that Agrippa II. commenced counting the years of his reign till he succeeded his uncle Herod, king of Chalcis, in A.D. 48.

Of the four different dates to which this piece could be assigned, a question that De Saulcy leaves unanswered, I am inclined to think, as I thought in 1864,<sup>165</sup> that the year ten refers to the tenth year of the Chalcian era, A.D. 58, for the reason, that the right of striking coins with the head of Agrippa II. must have been peremptorily put a stop to, as in the next year, A.D. 59, and in all future years, his coins bear either the head of a town or the head of a reigning emperor.

I do not, therefore, think that this coin was issued as late as A.D. 62—63, A.D. 64—65 or A.D. 70—71.

Still, this is conjectural.

<sup>163</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 274.

<sup>164</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 115.

<sup>165</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 116.

AGRIPPA II., WITH OR WITHOUT THE NAME OF NERO.

1. *Obv.*—Legend lost. Head of Nero to the right, laureated ; in front, the *lituus*.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ — ΒΑΣΙΛΕ — ΑΓΡΙΠΠ — ΝΕΡΩ — ΝΙΕ  
(Νερωνιων) within an olive crown. ("Trésor,"  
Pl. LX. No. 13; Madden, p. 116, No. 1; De  
Saulcy,<sup>166</sup> p. 28, B. No. 1.)

2. *Obv.*—ΝΕΡΩΝ. Head of Nero to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—Same legend and type. ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 14;  
Madden, p. 116, No. 2; De Saulcy, p. 28, B.  
No. 2. De Saulcy adds that he cannot see on  
this coin, as I had given, the word **CEBAC-**  
**TOC.**)

3. *Obv.*—ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ . . . Head of Nero to the right,  
laureated.

*Rev.*—Same legend and type. (British Museum; Madden,  
p. 116, No. 3; De Saulcy, p. 28, B. No. 3.)

4. *Obv.*—ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔ . . ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ. Tur-  
reted female head to the right.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣ. [ΑΓΡ ΕΤ]ΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ. Two  
cornua-copiae; between them a *caduceus*. (Wigan  
Coll.; Madden, p. 117, No. 4; De Saulcy, p. 28,  
A. No. 2.)


5. *Obv.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ (*sic*) ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ,  
holding ears of corn and poppy-heads.

*Rev.*—ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ within a circle, and written  
around the monogram **Я** (ΚΑ).<sup>167</sup> (Madden,  
p. 117, No. 5; "Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 15;  
Cavedoni, Num. Bibl. [Italian work], Pl. I. No. 6;  
De Saulcy, p. 28, A. No. 3.)

<sup>166</sup> References, except when otherwise stated, are to De Saulcy's paper, "On the Coins of the Agrippas," in the *Mém. de la Soc. Franç. de Num. et de Arch.*, p. 26 *seq.*, Paris, 1869.

<sup>167</sup> De Saulcy has not taken any notice of the curious little copper coin with the legend **ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ** and date **ΕΤ. ΡΚ**, assigned by Cavedoni to Agrippa II. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 120). I have already alluded to Mr. Conder's interpretation of the date in a former portion of this series of papers (see § I.).

*Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II., with or without the Name of Nero.*

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are undated. Nos. 4 and 5 bear a double date **ETOYC AI TOY KAI** ,—i.e. "year XI., which is also VI."

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 were struck at Cæsarea-Philippi, a town, as we have already mentioned, to which Agrippa II. gave the name of *Neronias* about A.D. 61.

No. 5 has not the name of the town in which it was struck. In all probability it was also issued at *Neronias*. From this coin we learn that Agrippa II. assumed the name of *Marcus* from Marcus Agrippa.

With respect to the date of the issue of Nos. 4 and 5, De Saulcy (p. 48) says:—"Il n'y a pas à hésiter, l'an XI. de l'ère de Chalcis se répartit sur les années 59 et 60; l'an VI. de la royauté définitive sur les années 60 et 61. C'est donc dans l'année 60 que nos deux jolies petites monnaies d'Agrippa II. ont été frappées à Césarée de Philippe," and adds in a *note*:—"Il ne peut être ici question, comme le croit Madden, d'une année de Néron et d'une année d'Agrippa II."

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are consequently also classed by De Saulcy to A.D. 60.

It may now be as well to say a few words respecting the "ère de la royauté définitive d'Agrippa II.," which De Saulcy makes to commence in A.D. 55, when Agrippa II. received from Nero Galilee, Tiberias, Taricheæ, Julias of Peræa, with other villages of Peræa.

It will be remembered that from certain coins of Domitian bearing the date **ET. KS** (year 26), and the designation of the twelfth consulship (Cos. XII.), it was thought that the true commencement of the era "*de la*

*royauté définitive*” (or, as I called it, “*the era of Tiberias*”) was in the eighth year of Nero, A.D. 61.<sup>168</sup>

These coins of Domitian, which will be found described in their proper place,<sup>169</sup> are, however, considered by De Saulcy to have no connection with the “*era of Agrippa II.*,” but with a “*special era of the town of Neronias*,” and he has consequently based his arrangement of a portion of the series on the commencement of Agrippa’s era from A.D. 55.

But the coins, with or without the name of Nero, above described (Nos. 1 to 5), although *undoubtedly struck at Neronias*, are not assigned by De Saulcy to the *special era of Neronias*, but to the *era of Chalcis*. And why?

Because the “year XI., which is also VI.,” could not possibly belong to an era the eleventh year of which would be in A.D. 71.

I quite agree with De Saulcy that the “year XI.” refers to the Chalcian era, A.D. 59-60, but if the coins of Domitian above alluded to can be considered as fixing the correct period of commencement of the “era of Agrippa,” then I am still of opinion that the “year VI.” is the *sixth year* of Nero, A.D. 59—60.

Further discussion of the dates on these coins of Domitian will be given *in loco*.

#### AGRIPPA II., WITH THE NAME OF VESPASIAN.

1. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ. Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—ΕΤ. ΔΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity, with *modius* on head, standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiae. (“Trésor,” Pl. LXI. No. 1; De

<sup>168</sup> Madden, “Hist. of Jew. Coinage,” p. 131.

<sup>169</sup> See under Domitian, Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13.

Sauley, p. 28, C. No. 1. The specimen which I published (p. 121, No. 1) from that in the British Museum has the obverse legend **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΒΑΣΤΩ** [*sic*].)

2. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕ-ΒΑΣΤ.** Type as No. 1. Countermark on neck.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 1. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 3; Madden, p. 122, No. 3; De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 2, who says that the piece is of *potin* and not *Æ*.)

3. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤ . . ΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 1. A crescent above the right arm of the goddess. (De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 3; a second example has the obverse legend **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ-ΠΑΣΙ . . . . . ΑΣΤΩ**; cf. Madden, p. 122, No. 4, from an impression received from M. Cohen.)

4. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕ-ΒΑΣΤ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 1. Star above the right arm of the goddess. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 4; Madden, p. 123, No. 5; De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 4.)

5. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑ . . . . . ΑΣΤΩ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ** (*sic*). Type as No. 1. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 5; Madden, p. 123, No. 6; De Sauley, p. 29, C. No. 5, who adds: "Un exemplaire entre mes mains porte **ΑΓΡΙ ΠΠΑ**.")

With respect to this coin, De Sauley says that "Le No. 3 de Madden, p. 125, attribué à Titus, doit être notre No. 5 [the coin above described] de Vespasien.—('Trésor,' Pl. LXI., No. 6, avec **L. ΚΘ ΒΑ**. Nous ne savons d'où sort cette pièce)."

The No. 3 was published by me from a specimen in



the British Museum. There are no traces on it either of **TITΩ** or **OYEC**. Nor can anything certain be gathered from the portrait, though I was of opinion that it was more like the face of Titus. Moreover, I felt corroborated in my views from the fact of a similar coin being engraved in the "Trésor" (Pl. LXI. No. 6), but with the legend **L. KΘ BA**. The obverse legend of this coin is clearly engraved **ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.**, but the reverse legend, which is given as **L. KΘ BA. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**, is so obscure, that it is quite impossible to distinguish any portion of it with certainty.

The reverse type, though, of both these coins—*i.e.* that described by me, and that described in the "Trésor," is "*Victory to the right, holding wreath and palm-branch,*" whilst the type given by De Saulcy (No. 5) is *the goddess with modius*. What then does De Saulcy mean by his statement—"Le No. 3 de Madden, p. 125, attribué à Titus, doit être notre No. 5 de Vespasien ?" I do not know.

Moreover, there is no reason why coins of Titus with the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ** or **L. ΚΘ.**, should not exist, as we shall see later.

*Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II. with the Name of Vespasian.*

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 49).—No. 1, with the date **ΕΤ. ΔΙ**, year 14 of the "ère définitive," was struck immediately after the election of Vespasian—*i.e.* in the month of July, A.D. 69, probably at the metropolis of one of Agrippa's tetrarchies.

No. 2, with the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΗΙ**, year 18 of the same era, was struck at the same town between the years A.D. 72 and 73.

No. 3, bearing the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚS** (year 26), in the same town, and certainly during the lifetime of Vespasian.

sian; but it cannot be dated from the "ère définitive," but from the "era of Chalcis," and represents A.D. 74—75.

De Saulcy adds:—"Pourquoi ce changement d'ère? nous l'ignorons; mais nous ne pouvons méconnaître que cette ère a été employée, puisque Josèphe s'en sert pour désigner l'année du règne d'Agrippa II., correspondant à l'an XII. de Néron. Il est vrai que cet écrivain a écrit l'an XVII. au lieu de l'an XVIII.; mais cela ne change rien à la conclusion."<sup>170</sup>

No. 4, dated **ETOY. KZ** (year 27), is also dated from the era of Chalcis, and was struck in A.D. 75—76.

No. 5, **ETOY. KO** (year 29), dated from the same era, and was issued in A.D. 77—78, the year that preceded the death of Vespasian.

De Saulcy also observes that the two groups are distinct in the manner of marking the dates. In the former the units precede the tens, in the latter the tens precede the units.

F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT.—No. 1, date **ET. Δ!** (year 14). Similar coins with this date are known of Titus (**L. ΙΔ**) and Domitian (**L. ΙΔ**), which are described *in loco*.

All are attributed by De Saulcy to A.D. 69.

It may be remarked that on the coin of Titus there are the titles of *Autokrator* and *Sebastos*, which might lead one to suppose that it was not issued till after the death of Vespasian in A.D. 79, but there is no era giving that date to which it could possibly be assigned, and it is more than likely that, as Titus was associated with his father in the tribunitian power, and made *Imperator* in A.D. 71,<sup>171</sup> that he was considered in Syria to be the real colleague of Vespasian, and to participate in all the Imperial honours.

<sup>170</sup> I have already alluded to this in the short account of Agrippa II.'s life earlier in this section. (See note 138.)

<sup>171</sup> Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 351.

I am not, however, of De Sauley's opinion respecting the date of the issue of these pieces.

In A.D. 68, on the death of Nero, as I have above shown, Agrippa II. accompanied Titus on their way to Rome to take orders from Galba about the Jews. On the road they heard of the death of Galba and of the accession of Otho, and whilst Agrippa II. continued his journey to Rome, Titus returned to his father.

Did Agrippa II. return to Vespasian without seeing Otho or Vitellius, and could he have been with him so early as July, A.D. 69, when Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor? I cannot with certainty say.<sup>172</sup>

In any case it seems to me excessively improbable that coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the name of Agrippa II., should have been issued at the very moment when Vespasian was elected Emperor, and in the very midst of the excitement taking place at this time.

When the Jewish war was concluded, in A.D. 70, and matters were more settled in Palestine and at Rome, Vespasian is said to have presented Agrippa II. with additions to his territory, and I am therefore the more inclined to think that the coins of Domitian with the date **ET. KS**, and to which I shall allude in their proper place, give us the standard of an era to which many of the coins of Agrippa II. may be assigned.

Assuming this to be the case, the coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the dates **ET. ΔI**, and **L. ΙΔ** were struck in A.D. 74—75.

I do not think that anything can be gathered from the difference of the expression for the word "year"—**ET.** and **L.**

No. 2. Date **ETOY. HI** (year 18). This belongs to

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<sup>172</sup> See the note No. 151, in the life of Agrippa II.

the same era as the previous coins, and, according to my theory, should be assigned to A.D. 78—79.

No. 3. Date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ** (year 26). I agree with De Saulcy that this date must be reckoned from the Chalcian era, and that the coin was issued in A.D. 74—75.

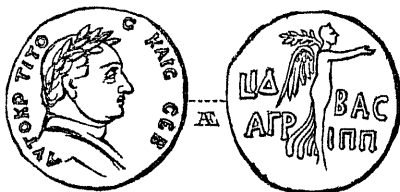
No. 4. Date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΖ** (year 27). Also Chalcian era. Issued in A.D. 75—76.

No. 5. Date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ** (year 29). Also Chalcian era. Issued in A.D. 77—78.

AGRIPPA II., WITH THE NAME OF TITUS.

1. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ . . . ΚΑΡ ΤΙΤ. ΣΕΒΑΣ.** Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—**Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑΣΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ.** Deity (without modius) standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiae. (De Saulcy [from his own collection], p. 29, D, No. 1; he adds, "No. 2 de Madden, p. 121 et 122, qui attribue faussement cette pièce à Vespasien."—"Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 2. The coin engraved in the "Trésor" is very indistinct, but the description given in the text of that work is **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ . . . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ.** I do not doubt that De Saulcy's attribution is correct.)



2. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ . . ΣΕΒ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ.** Victory walking to the right, holding a palm and a crown. (Reichardt, "Numismatische Zeitschrift," 1871, p. 88, seq. Wien. De Saulcy, p. 29, D, No. 2, publishes a variety with the legend **Λ. ΙΔ. ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ.** He adds: "Madden, p. 126 et 127, doute de l'existence de cette pièce. Il a bien

tort! J'en possède un exemplaire." This statement is incorrect, and shows that the English language must be imperfectly understood by De Sauley. I never doubted the existence of pieces of this date.—The coin is also published by Mionnet, vol. v. p. 572, No. 110; and in the "Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 7. De Sauley also publishes a barbarous piece of the same type, D, No. 3.)

3. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚ . . ΚΑΙC . . . ΑCΤΟC.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΙΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Deity with modius on head standing to the left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiae. (Madden, p. 124, No. 1, from the specimen in Paris; De Sauley, p. 29, D, No. 4.)

4. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. Κ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠ . .** Victory walking to the right holding a crown and a palm. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 573, No. 113; Madden, p. 126, note 3.)

5. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΚC ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Same type as No. 4; before the Victory, a star. (Madden, p. 125, No. 2; cf. "Trésor," Pl. LXI. Nos. 10, 11; De Sauley, p. 30, D, No. 6.)

6. *Obv.*—**. . . ΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΚC Β. . . ΓΡΙΠΠ .** Same type as No. 4; a crescent above the arm which holds the crown. (De Sauley, p. 30, D, No. 5.)

7. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. Τ . . . ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Same type as No. 4; in the field, a crescent. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 573, No. 117; Madden, p. 126, note 3.)

8. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚ. ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑC.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**Λ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 4. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 6; Madden, p. 125.)

9. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚ. . . . . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΥ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ.** Type as No. 4.  
(Madden, p. 125, No. 8.)

I have already made some remarks on these two coins under "Vespasian, No. 5." No. 8 is certainly a coin of Titus. No. 9 may be a Vespasian.

*Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II., with the Name of Titus.*

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 50).—No. 1, with the date **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14), was struck in A.D. 69 [De Sauley by error prints 79], counting from the "era of Agrippa."

No. 2, with the same date, but a different type, belongs to the same year.

No. 3, with the date **ΕΤΟΥ. ΙΘ** (year 19), was struck in A.D. 73—74.

De Sauley here remarks that perhaps we should read **ΚΘ** (29), and that then we should have a piece struck at the same time as the No. 5 of Vespasian, and issued at Chalcis in A.D. 77—78. He, however, modifies this later, as specimens of the coins of Domitian, with **ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ**, are in existence.

Nos. 5 and 6, with the date **ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ** (year 26), were struck on the Chalcian era in A.D. 74—75.

De Sauley observes that the "year 26" of the "era of Agrippa" corresponds to A.D. 80—81, and that one might attribute these coins to that year after the death of Vespasian. He however adds that the existence of coins of Vespasian with the same date makes him doubt the value of this last hypothesis.

F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT. — Nos. 1 and 2.  
Date **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14).

I have given under Vespasian my reasons for assigning the date A.D. 74—75 to Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 3. Date **ETOY. IO** (year 19). For the same reasons the coin with this date would have been struck in A.D. 79—80.

No. 4. Date **ETOY. K** (year 20). Not mentioned by De Saulcy. Published by Mionnet.

If a coin with this date really exists, it would have to be assigned to the same era as the three previous ones, and would have been issued in A.D. 80—81, and on Sept. 13th, A.D. 81, Titus died. As, however, it bears the same type as the coins with the date **KS**, I am inclined to think that the coin has been imperfectly read, and that a *unit*, and perhaps the *unit S*, is wanting.

Nos. 5 and 6. Date **ETO. KS** (year 26).

No. 7. Date **ETO. KZ** (year 27). Not mentioned by De Saulcy. Published by Mionnet.

No. 8. **L. KO** (year 29). See the remarks on this date under the coins of Vespasian No. 5, and Titus Nos. 8 and 9.

I may here remark that the arrangement of these coins of Titus adopted by me,<sup>173</sup> was based upon the supposition that coins of Titus, with Agrippa II., were not issued till after the death of Vespasian in A.D. 79, and that consequently they were struck on the era commencing from the time when Agrippa II. received the tetrarchy of Philip from Claudius in A.D. 53. I at the same time suggested that it was possible they might have been issued on the "Chalcian era" during the life-time of his father.

De Saulcy gives no coins whatever to the era of the "tetrarchy of Philip." He has assigned these coins to the "Chalcian era."

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<sup>173</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 126, and Table II. p. 324.

I do not see any objection to this, and am rather inclined to think that they are cotemporary with the coins of Vespasian bearing the same date.

**ETO. KS** (year 26) will therefore represent A.D. 74—75.

**ETO. KZ** (year 27), A.D. 75—76.

**L. KO** (year 29), A.D. 77—78.

**AGRIPPA II., WITH THE NAME OF DOMITIAN.**

1. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙ . . ΚΑΙCΑΡ**. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—**Λ. ΙΔ ΒΑC. ΑΓΡΙΠΟΥ**. Victory standing to the left, writing on a shield. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 12; Madden, p. 127, No. 1; De Sauley, p. 80, E, No. 1.)

2. *Obv.*— . . . **ΚΑΙCΑΡ**. Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ**. Galley. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 13; Madden, p. 128, No. 2; De Sauley, p. 80, E, No. 2.)

3. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ**. Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΓ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**. Victory standing, writing on a shield which is placed on her knee. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 574, No. 122; Madden, p. 181, note 9.)

De Sauley, p. 31, in a *note* says, "Je doute fort de l'existence de cette pièce." But why?

4. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ**. Bust of Domitian to the right, laureated, with ægis.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**. Victory flying to right. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 14; Madden, p. 128, No. 3; De Sauley, p. 80, E, No. 3.)

5. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤ. ΚΑΙC. ΓΕΡΜΑ**. Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΔΚ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ**. Victory standing to right, placing left foot on helmet, and writing



- on shield. In field, to left, a crescent. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 15; Madden, p. 128, No. 4; De Sauley, p. 30, *note* to E, No. 4.)
6. A similar piece. In field, to right, a star. Date illegible. ("Trésor," Pl. LXI. No. 9; Madden, p. 129; De Sauley, p. 30, *note* to E, No. 4.)
7. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΓΕΡΜΑ. Type as No. 1.  
*Rev.*— . Ο. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Type as No. 5.  
 (De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 4.)
8. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝ. Type as No. 1.  
*Rev.*—ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Within a wreath.  
 (Madden, p. 129, No. 5; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 6.)
9. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΕΤ. ΚΑΙC. ΓΕΡΜ. Type as No. 1.  
*Rev.*—ΕΤ. ΚΕ ΒΑC. ΑΓΡΙΠ. Palm tree. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 1; Madden, p. 129, No. 6; De Sauley, p. 30, E, No. 7; a similar piece is given by De Sauley, E, No. 5.)
10. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN  
 . . . XII. Type as No. 1.  
*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.; in the field, ΕΤ. ΚΕ; below S. C. In the field one side SALVTI, and on the other AVGVST. Large altar with the door shut. (De Sauley, p. 55 from Sestini, "Descriz. d. Med. Ant. Gr. del Mus. Hederv." iii. p. 120, No. 10; Mionnet, Suppl. viii. p. 380, No. 5.)
11. *Obv.*—IM. CA. D. VESP. F. DOM. AV. GER.  
 COS. XII. Type as No. 1.  
*Rev.*—SALVTI AVGVST. S.C. ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ.  
 ΕΤ. ΚC. Altar. (Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 494.)
12. *Obv.*—IM. CA. D. VES. F. DOM. AV. GER.  
 COS. XII. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated, with aegis.

- Rev.*—**ΕΠΙ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙ.** Two cornua-copiae; between them a caduceus. In field **ΕΤ. ΚΣ.** At foot of the cornua-copiae, **S. C.** ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 3; Madden, p. 130, No. 8; De Sauley, p. 31, E, Nos. 13 and 14; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 575, No. 130.)
13. *Obv.*—Legend and type as No. 12.
- Rev.*—**ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣ. ΑΓΡΙ.** In field, **S. C.** In exergue **ΕΤ. ΚΣ.** ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. Nos. 4 and 5; Madden, p. 130, No. 9; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 15.)
14. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Type as No. 1. Two countermarks.
- Rev.*—**ΕΤ. ΚΣ ΒΑΣΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Type as No. 5. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 2; Madden, p. 129, No. 7; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 11, who states that he has a specimen with **ΕΤΟΥ. ΚΣ ΒΑΣΙ. ΑΓΡΙΠ.** He also publishes three other varieties of this coin, E, Nos. 9, 10, 12.)
15. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Type as No. 1.
- Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΚΖ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Two cornua-copiae. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 6; Madden, p. 131, No. 10; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 16.)
16. *Obv.*—**ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.** Type as No. 1.
- Rev.*—**ΘΥ ΥΟΤΕ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory to the right, left foot on helmet, leaning on shield. (Reichardt, Numismatische Zeitschrift, 1871, p. 83, *seq.* Wien.)
17. *Obv.*—**ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.** Bust of Domitian to right.
- Rev.*—**ΕΤΟ. ΑΛ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Victory walking to right. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 7; Madden, p. 132; De Sauley, p. 31, E, No. 17; Mionnet, Supp. viii. p. 380, No. 6, gives the obverse legend **ΔΟΜΕΤ.** (*sic*) **ΚΑΙΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.**)
18. *Obv.*—**ΤΟ · ΔΟΜ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤ. ΕΛ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.** Within a crown. ("Trésor," Pl. LXII. No. 8—it is impossible to trace any legends from the engraving; Madden, p. 132, No. 12; De Sauley, p. 32, E, No. 18, who says that he possesses a specimen with **ΔΟΜΙ.** on obverse, and the reverse legend readable.)

19. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ** (*sic*)  
**ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΕΛ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.** Turreted female standing to left on the prow of a vessel, holding in right hand ears of corn (?) and in left a cornucopiæ. (Madden, p. 132, No. 14; Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 276, Pl. VI. No. 6; De Sauley, p. 32, E, No. 19.)

20. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡ.                    ΚΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ.** Type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤΟΥ. ΕΛ ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ.** Victory marching to the right, holding crown and palm-branch. (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii. p. 275; Madden, p. 132, No. 13; De Sauley, p. 32, E, No. 20.)

AGRIPPA II., WITHOUT THE NAME OF DOMITIAN.

21. *Obv.*—**ΒΑ. ΑΓΡ.** Turreted head.

*Rev.*—**ΕΤ. ΔΛ.** Cornucopiæ. ("Trésor," Pl. LX. No. 12; Madden, p. 132, No. 11; De Sauley, p. 28, A, No. 4.)

*Remarks on Coins of Agrippa II. with the Name of Domitian.*

DE SAULCY'S ARRANGEMENT (p. 51).—No. 1, with the date **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14), was struck in A.D. 69, on the "era of Agrippa."

No. 2, with date **ΕΤΟ. ΙΘ** (year 19), in A.D. 73—74, on the same era.

No. 3, with date **ΕΤΟ. ΚΓ** (year 23), is, as already stated, doubted by De Sauley.

No. 4 with date **ΕΤΟ. ΚΔ** (year 24).

Respecting this piece De Saulcy (p. 52) says—"C'est là une pièce isolée, et dont il est assez malaisé de deviner l'origine, aucune des pièces de Vespasien et de Titus ne présentant cette même date. Domitien n'y porte encore que le titre de César. L'an xxiv. de l'ère définitive d'Agrippa II. correspondrait à 78—79, année qui a précédé la mort de Vespasien. Je pense donc qu'il s'agit encore ici de l'ère de Chalcois, sûrement adoptée en l'an **KS**, xxvi., et que, par conséquent, la pièce a été frappée entre 72 et 73."

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, with the date **ΔK** or **KΔ** (year 24).

On Nos. 5, 6, and 7 appears the type of the Victory turning *to the right*, as on No. 4; on No. 8 the legend is within a wreath; <sup>174</sup> on all the title of *Germanicus* occurs.

It is necessary here again to quote De Saulcy's own words (p. 52):—"Mais ici se présente une difficulté; Domitien porte le titre de Germanique. Or il est certain que ce prince n'a pris officiellement ce titre, à Rome, qu'en l'an 84, lorsqu'il était seul sur le trône. Nous devons pour expliquer la présence de ce titre, avoir recours à une hypothèse tout-à-fait analogue à celle qui seule a pu nous faire comprendre pour Titus l'emploi des titres *Autokrator* et *Sebastos*, du vivant de son père. Nous savons qu'en 70 Domitien entreprit contre les Germains une guerre que son père n'avait pas ordonnée, et que cette conduite un peu inconsidérée lui valut un blâme sévère de la part de Vespasien. Quelque flatteur, et il y en avait sûrement en Syrie, aura profité de cela pour faire donner à

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<sup>174</sup> No. 8, though given in De Saulcy's list (p. 30) under E, No. 6, is not alluded to by him in his remarks (p. 52). The whole of the references in De Saulcy's paper, from this point to the end (pp. 52—54), are incorrectly printed; for instance, No. 6 should be No. 7, No. 7 should be No. 8, and so on up to No. 19, which should be No. 20. These misprints at first caused me an infinity of trouble.

Domitien un titre qu'il n'avait pas mérité, mais qui devait lui plaire fort, puisqu'il se l'appliqua plus tard."

De Saulcy, therefore, classes these coins with the date "year 24" to 72—73 of the "era of Chalcis."

No. 9, with date **ET. KE** (year 25), is given to the same era, and was struck in A.D. 73—74.

No. 14, with date **ET. KS** (year 26), to A.D. 74—75.

No. 15, with date **ETO. KZ** (year 27), to A.D. 75—76.<sup>175</sup>

We thus have, says De Saulcy, for Domitian an uninterrupted series of coins from **KΔ** to **KZ**, *i.e.* from A.D. 72 to A.D. 76.

Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13. No. 10 with date **ET. KE** (year 25); Nos. 11, 12, 13, with date **ET. KS** (year 26).

The date of these coins is fixed by the Cos. XII. on the obverse. Domitian was consul for the twelfth time in A.D. 86. The coins in question must then, of necessity, have been struck in this year.

But says De Saulcy (p. 53):—"Que devient la date **ET. KS**, l'an xxvi. ? elle ne rentre dans aucune des ères employées par Agrippa II. Il faut donc nécessairement admettre que cette année représente celle d'une ère particulière de ville. On a cru que le type des cornes d'abondance et du caducée, qui se rencontre sur des impériales de Tibériade, classait à la même ville la

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<sup>175</sup> This No. 15 in my list is the same piece as De Saulcy's E, No. 16 (p. 31), called in error No. 15 on p. 53. On p. 52 De Saulcy says "Enfin le numéro 11, toujours au même type, est daté **ETO. KZ**, l'an xxvii., c'est-à-dire de 75 à 76." But No. 11 (which, as I have shown in the previous note, should be No. 12) is a coin with the date **ET. KS**!! (De Saulcy, E, No. 12, p. 31; see under No. 14 of Domitian in my list.) De Saulcy (p. 53) suggests that it may have been struck at Neronias, but adds "*cela est plus que douteux.*"

monnaie dont nous nous occupons; mais c'est là une attribution bien hasardée. N'avons nous pas en effet rencontré plus haut une pièce de Néronias offrant précisément le même type? Or, si la pièce était de Néronias, ville dont nous avons fixé à l'an 60 l'inauguration sous ce nouveau nom, l'an xxvi. de l'ère, dont le point de départ a pu coïncider avec cette inauguration, serait précisément l'an 86, année du douzième consulat de Domitien. On ne trouvera pas mauvais, j'imagine, que je m'en tienne à cette solution, que je n'abandonnerai qu'à la condition qu'on m'en offrira une plus probable et plus naturelle. Il est vrai que cela n'explique pas la présence de la formule **S. C.**, mais je n'ai pas la prétention de tout deviner."

With respect to the date **KE**, De Saulcy adds (p. 56), "Cette fois nous nous trouvons en face de la date **L. KE** (l'an xxv.) [*read ET. KE*] correspondant au même 12<sup>e</sup> consulat de Domitien, c'est-à-dire à l'an 86 de J.-C. Nous en devons forcément conclure que ce 12<sup>e</sup> consulat a été réparti sur les deux années xxv. et xxvi. de l'ère de Néronias."

No. 17 with date **ETO. AA** (year 31).

This reading is doubtful. The date may be **ΔΛ** (34).

De Saulcy says that if it is the year xxxi. of Chalcis, then the piece was struck in A.D. 79—80; if year xxxi. of the "era of Agrippa," then in A.D. 84—86. [*read 85—86*]. If xxxiv. is the correct date the coin, according to the "era of Chalcis," would have been issued in A.D. 82—83, the year in which Domitian would have taken the titles Autokrator and Sebastos; and if on the "era of Agrippa," in A.D. 86—87 [*read 88—89*].

De Saulcy believes that **ETO. AA** is the correct reading.

Nos. 18, 19, 20 with date **ET. or ETOY. EA** (year 35)

De Sauley considers to have been struck on "the Chalcian era" in A.D. 83—84.<sup>176</sup>

No. 21 with date **ET. ΔΛ** (year 34).

This coin, though mentioned by De Sauley in his list, (p. 28, A, No. 4), is not alluded to by him in his remarks.

F. W. MADDEN'S ARRANGEMENT.—No. 1. Date **L. ΙΔ** (year 14).

I have given, under Vespasian, my reasons for assigning these coins to A.D. 74—75.<sup>177</sup>

No. 2. Date **ETO. ΙΘ** (year 19).

For the same cause this coin was issued in A.D. 79—80.

No. 3. Date **ETO. ΚΓ** (year 23).

Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Date **ETO. ΔΚ** or **ΚΔ** (year 24).

No. 9. Date **ET. ΚΕ** (year 25).

<sup>176</sup> It will be seen that De Sauley is not certain about the date of No. 17, but that he positively assigns Nos. 18, 19 and 20 to the "era of Chalcis." I have failed to discover the distinction which led to this opinion.

<sup>177</sup> Cavedoni ("Princ. Quest. riguardanti la Num. Giud.," p. 16 *note*, extracted from vol. v. series ii. of the "Opuscoli Religiosi, Litterarj e Morali" of Modena; and "Nuovi Studi sopra le Ant. Mon. Giud.," p. 25, *note* 5, in vol. i. series ii. of the same journal) thinks that the coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian with the type of Victory standing writing on a shield, as also the coins with the legend **ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ**, were probably struck at Nicopolis in Judæa. Nicopolis was founded after the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 71. It was formerly called Emmaus, and when Judæa was put up for sale, Titus assigned this place for the habitation of 800 men whom he had dismissed from the army (Jos., "Bell. Jud." vii. 6, 6). He is therefore of opinion that the dates **ΙΔ** (14), **ΔΚ** (24), and **ΚΣ** (26), correspond to A.D. 83, 98, 95, and were struck during the long reign of Domitian. I do not think that this suggestion (as regards the coins of Agrippa II.) is tenable. Eckhel (vol. iii. p. 441) considers the coins with the legend **ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ** struck in some Greek city; and De Sauley ("Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 78) considers they were certainly struck in Palestine, but cannot name the town. I shall allude to these coins in a later section.

No. 14. Date **ET. KS** (year 26).

No. 15. Date **ETO. KZ** (year 27).

With the exception of No. 3, **ETO. KΓ** (which is doubted by De Saulcy, but for no specific reason), De Saulcy, as above shown, has attributed all these coins to the "Chalcian era," placing the issue of the earliest of them in A.D. 72—73.

This attribution is made notwithstanding that there are *no coins* of Vespasian and Titus of so early a date that can be given to this era, and that on the pieces with the date **ΔK** or **KΔ** the title *Germanicus* occurs.

It is quite true, as De Saulcy observes, that in A.D. 70 Domitian made an expedition with Mucianus against the Germans,<sup>178</sup> and numismatists have not been wanting<sup>179</sup> in assigning coins bearing the title of *Germanicus* to dates earlier than A.D. 84, in which year Domitian assumed the title at Rome. But these coins have in all cases been misread. There are certainly no coins issued at Rome with this title earlier than A.D. 84, and there are none issued after this year without it. The coins of Domitian struck at Alexandria help to corroborate this. The title **ΓΕΡΜ.** first occurs on his Alexandrian coins of the third year struck at the close of A.D. 83.<sup>180</sup>

Is it then at all probable that in Syria—and in Syria only—coins of Domitian would have been struck with the title of *Germanicus* as early as A.D. 72—73? I think not.

<sup>178</sup> Suet., "Dom." 2.

<sup>179</sup> See Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 396. Martial (Lib. ii. Epig. 2), as Eckhel has observed, who was most fulsome in his praise of Domitian, only intended to hint that Domitian was worthy of the title of *Germanicus*. The same poet gives Domitian the name of *Dacicus*, but this title is not found on his coins (Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 268).

<sup>180</sup> Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 60.



Besides, in my opinion, to corroborate De Saulcy's arrangement it will be necessary to find coins of Vespasian and Titus with the dates  $\text{K}\Gamma$  and  $\text{K}\Delta$ , and these at present have not been discovered.

To what date then shall these pieces be assigned? Here is the difficulty.

From the system adopted by me,<sup>181</sup> based on the dates of the coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian with the twelfth consulship, to which I shall presently allude, I assigned these coins to the "era of Tiberias," and in this era the dates of these coins, with the date  $\Delta\text{K}$  and  $\text{K}\Delta$  (24), exactly fell in the year A.D. 84—85, the very time of the assumption of the title of *Germanicus* by Domitian.

The objection that may be raised against my attributions is this, that on the coins assigned by me to the years from A.D. 83 to A.D. 96, there is only the title of *Cæsar*, and Domitian succeeded to the Empire in A.D. 81.

This objection, however, is not a very serious one, and even De Saulcy in his system has been compelled to give the coins with date  $\text{E}\Lambda$  (35) to the year A.D. 83—84. For I find that coins of Domitian are existing issued after his accession at various cities of Palestine and Syria *without* the title of *Sebastos*. At Neapolis, with the legend  $\text{AYTOK. DOMITIANO}\Sigma \text{ KAISAP}$ , and date  $\text{L. AI}$  (year 11) = A.D. 82—83;<sup>182</sup> at Sebaste, with the legends  $\text{IMP DO . . . CAESAR}$  or  $\text{CAESAR IMP. DOMITIAN}$ , and date  $\text{L. OP}$  (year 109) = A.D. 84;<sup>183</sup> and at

<sup>181</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 131.

<sup>182</sup> De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 244.

<sup>183</sup> De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 276.

Canata with the legend **ΔΟΜΙΤΙ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ** and date **ZNP** (157) = A.D. 93;<sup>184</sup> and Domitian died in A.D. 96.

De Sauley seems to have ignored the facts (1) that the kingdom of Chalcis, at some period after it was taken away from Agrippa II., was given to the rightful heir, Aristobulus, son of Herod, King of Chalcis, and that he was still king of Chalcis about the years A.D. 74—76, during the reign of Vespasian,<sup>185</sup> and (2) that under Domitian it was added to the Roman Empire, and then received the name of *Flavia*.<sup>186</sup>

I am, therefore, inclined to think that no coins bearing the name of Domitian were issued on the "Chalcian era."

Though, after the Jewish war, Judæa, Galilee, and a great part of Idumæa were wasted, the dominions of Agrippa II. were for the most part respected,<sup>187</sup> and though Domitian demanded the payment of the Jewish tribute with the utmost severity,<sup>188</sup> and allowed the most horrible atrocities to be committed,<sup>189</sup> it seems likely, as we possess coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian undoubtedly struck in A.D. 86, that Agrippa II. was left in peace.

The latest dated Jewish coin, *i. e.* **ΕΤ. ΕΛ** (year 35), attributed by De Sauley to A.D. 83—84 of the "Chalcian era," falls, in my arrangement, in the year A.D. 95—96, the year previous to the death of Domitian, and there is not much doubt that in this year the Jews were included in the persecution of the Christians.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>184</sup> De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 400.

<sup>185</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." vii. 7, 1.

<sup>186</sup> Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 265.

<sup>187</sup> Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," vol. iii. p. 95.

<sup>188</sup> "Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est."—Suet., "Dom." 12.

<sup>189</sup> Suet. *in loc.*

<sup>190</sup> Dion, 67, 13, 14.

The dates of the coins, according to my arrangement, will therefore be—

<b>KΓ</b>	(23) = A.D. 83—84.
<b>KΔ</b>	} (24) = A.D. 84—85.
or <b>ΔK</b>	
<b>KE</b>	(25) = A.D. 85—86.
<b>KS</b>	(26) = A.D. 86—87.
<b>KZ</b>	(27) = A.D. 87—88.

I have shown my reasons for disagreeing with the attribution of these coins to the "Chalcian era," and I have recapitulated my original theory as to their arrangement. I am, however, able to make another suggestion.

De Saulcy, as I have previously stated,<sup>191</sup> assigns no coins to the "era of the tetrarchy of Philip."

Could these coins be given to that era?

It commenced in A.D. 53, and, consequently, coins with the dates—

<b>KΓ</b>	(23) would correspond to A.D. 75—76.
<b>KΔ</b>	} (24)        "        "        A.D. 76—77.
or <b>ΔK</b>	
<b>KE</b>	(25)        "        "        A.D. 77—78.
<b>KS</b>	(26)        "        "        A.D. 78—79.
<b>KZ</b>	(27)        "        "        A.D. 79—80.

and would all have been struck previous to his accession in A.D. 81. There still, however, remains the difficulty of the title *Germanicus*.

We may now pass on to examine the curious and important coins of the 12th consulship of Domitian.

No. 10. Date **ET. KE** (year 25).

No. 11. Same type. Date **ET. KS** (year 26).

Nos. 12, 13. Date **ET. KS** (year 26).

No 10, with the date **ET. KE** and with the legend

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<sup>191</sup> See my remarks on the coins of Titus.

**SALVTI AVGVST.**, is published, as above stated, by De Sauley from Sestini.

I find that Mionnet<sup>192</sup> has also published the same coin from Sestini.

The same identical coin may also be found in De Sauley's new work,<sup>193</sup> and is there described as "une pièce frottée, passée de la collection Wigan dans celle de M. le Comte Cahen d'Anvers."

I do not remember seeing this piece in the Wigan collection.

It has, however, escaped the notice of De Sauley, as it had already escaped mine when I issued my book, that Eckhel,<sup>194</sup> from Hardouin<sup>195</sup> and Frölich,<sup>196</sup> publishes a similar piece (see our No. 11), but with the date **ET. KS** (year 26).

I should have been inclined to doubt the reading of the piece given in Sestini and Mionnet, but suppose that one must accept as correct the description of the same piece from the Wigan collection.

It is, therefore, necessary to conclude with De Sauley that the 12th consulship of Domitian extended over two years (25 and 26) of the era of the town in which these pieces were struck.

We have already seen that the date of all these coins is fixed by the Cos. XII. to A.D. 86, that De Sauley, in order to corroborate his theory of the coinage of Agrippa II., shows that they could not belong to any of the eras of Agrippa II. as given by him, and that he therefore

<sup>192</sup> Suppl., vol. viii. p. 380, No. 5.

<sup>193</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 316.

<sup>194</sup> Vol. iii. p. 494.

<sup>195</sup> Num. Herod.

<sup>196</sup> Reg. Vet., p. 111.

assigns them to a special "era of the town of Neronias," commencing about A.D. 60.

A corroboration of this theory would certainly seem to be found in the remarkable coin of Domitian published in De Saulcy's new work.<sup>197</sup>

The following is the description :—

*Obv.*—**IMP. CAE. DIVI VESP. F. DOMITIAN. AVG . . . COS. XII.** Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

*Rev.*—**MONETA (CAES) (?) AVGV. S.P.** Deity to the left, holding in right hand a balance and in left a cornu-copie; above, in the field, to right and left, **ET—KS**; below, **S. C.** (The **S** is placed between the two basons of the balance.)

The letters **S. P.** on the reverse are interpreted by De Saulcy as *Sub Panio*, and are the Latin equivalent of the words **ΥΠΟ ΠΑΝΕΙΩ**, which occur on the coins of Panias from the time of Aurelius.

De Saulcy gives a woodcut of this rare coin (which is in his own collection), which differs considerably from his description. On the obverse the word **CAE** is **CAES**, and the legend stops at **AVG.** Whether **COS. XII.** is on the coin it is impossible to say from the cut, whilst on the reverse the word **CAES**, which De Saulcy has queried, is drawn quite distinctly.

This is a great pity, though I see nothing for it but to accept as correct De Saulcy's description.<sup>198</sup>

In these circumstances there certainly seems much probability in De Saulcy's argument, that the coins of Agrippa II. with the dates **ET. KE** and **ET. KS** and

<sup>197</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 315.

<sup>198</sup> I had hoped to obtain from M. de Saulcy a cast of the coin, but this gentleman informed Mr. Head that he had sold his collection to Hoffmann, who in his turn had disposed of it to some Russian nobleman. It will therefore probably turn up again when Macaulay's New Zealander makes his appearance.

**COS. XII.** were struck at Neronias (Panias). They were certainly issued in a different place to the other coins of Agrippa II. and Domitian (Nos. 9 and 14), also with the dates **ETO. KE** and **ETO. KS**, and to which I have previously alluded in the earlier portion of these remarks.

I have already remarked<sup>199</sup> that whilst De Saulcy has assigned the above coins to the supposed "era of Neronias," he has not assigned, and for very good reasons, to the same era those pieces issued under Nero which were undoubtedly struck at this town.

For the absence of the name of Agrippa II. on this coin of Domitian, De Saulcy is unable to account, but he adds,<sup>200</sup> "*ce que nous pouvons affirmer, c'est que jusqu'ici on n'a pas retrouvé une seule pièce d'Agrippa II. postérieure à cette date. Aurait-il donc décidé qu'à partir de cette année 86, le nom de l'Empereur seul paraîtrait désormais sur les monnaies émises dans le royaume d'Agrippa II. ? Cela est fort possible.*"

It has been suggested<sup>201</sup> that these coins of Domitian and Agrippa II. were struck at Tiberias, firstly, because the legend **SALVTI AVGVST.** receives some corroboration from a coin of Trajan bearing the type of *Salus*,<sup>202</sup> and, secondly, because the type of the two cornua-copiae also occurs on the coins of this emperor issued in this town.<sup>203</sup> But in the face of the rare coin published by De Saulcy, it would seem as if this theory could not be supported.

<sup>199</sup> See the coins of Agrippa II. under Nero.

<sup>200</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 316.

<sup>201</sup> "Trésor," p. 129; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 131; Cavedoni, "Principali Questioni," &c., in vol. v., *Opuscoli Religiosi*, &c., Modena, p. 16, *note of tirage à part*.

<sup>202</sup> Mionnet, vol. v. p. 484, No. 56; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 335.

<sup>203</sup> The description in Mionnet (vol. v. p. 484, No. 54) is

Be it as it may, there is not the slightest doubt that the pieces in question were struck in A.D. 86, which date would equally apply to the suggested "era of Neronias," or to the "era of Tiberias."<sup>204</sup>

With respect to Tiberias, it is certain that this town belonged to Agrippa II. from the time when it was given to him by Nero till his death, in A.D. 100, and that immediately on his decease it again formed part of the Roman Empire, coins of Trajan being extant bearing the dates 80 and 81 of Tiberias, corresponding to A.D. 100 and A.D. 101.<sup>205</sup>

On the peculiar legends on these coins various surmises have been made.<sup>206</sup> De Saulcy,<sup>207</sup> in speaking of the letters **S. C.**, thinks that they may probably refer to a local senate, *i. e.*, to a decision of the college of *Decuriones*.

The legend **SALVTI AVGVST.** here found on the coins of the 12th consulship does not occur on the coins issued at Rome at this time, but it may be found on those of the 10th and 11th consulship (A.D. 84, A.D. 85). Whether Domitian had any serious illness in these years justifying this legend it is impossible to say, but it would seem as if he was constantly fearing his death, and he may perhaps have wished frequent prayers to be made for his health and safety.<sup>208</sup>

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incorrect in respect to the date **ET. IS.** This should be **ET. 4** [year 90]. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 336.)

<sup>204</sup> It will be observed that the "era of Neronias" (according to De Saulcy) and the "era of Tiberias" (according to me) commence about the same time (see the Table).

<sup>205</sup> De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 335.

<sup>206</sup> Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 495; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 130.

<sup>207</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," 1874, p. 316.

<sup>208</sup> "Annum diemque ultimum vitæ jam pridem suspectum habebat; horam etiam necnon et genus mortis. *Adolescentulo*

No. 16. Date **ETOY. KO** (year 29). This coin was not known to De Sauley; had it been, I presume he would have attributed it to A.D. 77—78. According to my arrangement it may either belong to A.D. 89—90 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 81—82 of the “era of Philip.”

No. 17. Date **ETO. AA** (year 31). It may either belong to A.D. 91—92 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 83—84 of the “era of Philip.”

Nos. 18, 19, 20. Date **ET.** and **ETOY. EA** (year 35). These may either belong to A.D. 95—96 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 87—88 of the “era of Philip.”

No. 21. Date **ET. ΔΛ** (year 34). De Sauley would, I suppose, attribute this coin either to A.D. 82—83 of the “era of Chalcis,” or to A.D. 88—89 of the “era of Agrippa.” It may either belong to A.D. 94—95 of the “era of Tiberias,” or to A.D. 86—87 of the “era of Philip.”

In order to exemplify the different dates that may be assigned to the coins of Agrippa II., I have drawn up a TABLE showing the various proposed arrangements, which I trust will much assist the student of this interesting series of coins.

I must, however, confess that the whole question is most difficult, and I should be loth to speak positively as to the actual correctness of many of the dates.

I cannot better conclude this portion of my remarks than in the words of Eckhel, “*Præstat, in tantâ caligine non ultra progredi.*”

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

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*Chaldaei cuncta prädixerant.*”—Suet., “Dom.” 14. For some peculiarities of this would-be “God and Lord,” see my paper in the Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 266, *seq.*



## IX.

### ACCOUNT OF ROMAN SILVER COINS FOUND AT LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK, IN JUNE, 1874.

ON June 10, 1874, a labourer, named William Hart, residing in Cockfield, found, while ploughing a field near Lavenham Lodge, belonging to Mr. Fish, in the parish of Lavenham, 197 silver coins, all denarii, contained in a rude earthen vessel, without handles or cover, not unlike that figured in Akerman's *Arch. Index*, Pl. X. fig. 15. It was turned up near the surface of the ground, at the depth of about a foot, as nearly as the finder can say. Of this number I have seen 184; the others had been dispersed.

Among the less common coins may be remarked one of Claudius, reading **PACI AVGVSTAE** (Coh. n. 46); one of Nero, reading **ROMA** (Coh. n. 53); two of Galba, reading **DIVA AVGVSTA** (Coh. n. 23); two others of the same Emperor, having for reverse **S · P · Q · R · OB C · S ·** (Coh. n. 81, one fine); and one of Otho, **SECV-RITAS** type (Coh. n. 14, poor). We have one of Vespasian, reading **CONCORDIA AVGVSTI**, struck in Asia (Coh. n. 24); four reading **IVDAEA** (Coh. n. 108), all poor; another of the same emperor, struck after his death, bearing a carpentum and the legend **EX SC.** (Coh. n. 82); others bearing a Victory on a prow (Coh.

n. 159); capricorns back to back, struck after his death (Coh. n. 177); figure on rostral column (Coh. n. 209), with another of the same type, differing on the obverse (Coh. Suppl. n. 37); and Victory crowning an ensign (Coh. n. 229). Among those of Titus one has **IOVIS** (in the nominative) **CVSTOS** (Coh. n. 44); another has the same legend, but differs from any in Cohen; another reads **NEP · RED ·** (Coh. n. 46); another bears a curule chair and a crown (Coh. n. 101). A coin of Domitian, of which there are two specimens, shows the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (Coh. n. 25); another relates to the Ludi Sæculares (Coh. n. 42); others have an altar surrounded by garlands (Coh. n. 215); and another exhibits the type of an anchor encircled by a dolphin, afterwards adopted by Aldus as his symbol (Coh. Suppl. n. 6). The coins of Nerva and Trajan are common, except one of the latter Emperor, which is undescribed by Cohen. The coins are, for the most part, only in mediocre preservation.

The latest coin found, whose date can be positively determined, is one of Trajan, A.D. 105 (Coh. n. 76); and the hoard was probably buried not long afterwards.

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#### CATALOGUE OF COINS FOUND NEAR LAVENHAM LODGE.

The figures in parentheses following the proper names express the whole number of coins found of each Triumvir or Emperor seen by me; those printed below them refer to the numbers of Cohen's "*Médailles Impériales*;" when these last are followed by a figure in a parenthesis this expresses the number of examples of that type seen by me.

M. ANTONIUS (3).

15; 37.(2).

AUGUSTUS (1).

87.

TIBERIUS (1).

2.

CLAUDIUS (1).

46.

NERO (4).

13 (2); 53; 60.

GALBA (4).

23 (2); 81 (2).

OTHO (1).

14.

VITELLIUS (4).

4 (2); 46 (2).

VESPASIAN (65).

14 (3); 24; 31 (2); 36 (5); 55 (2); 59 (2); 60 (2); 66;  
82; 103; 105; 106; 108 (4); 148; 151 (6); 152 (5);  
154 (7); 159; 164 (2); 167 (2); 174 (2); 177 (3); 196  
(apparently, poor); 209 (2); 216 (3); 229; 37 (Suppl.)

TITUS (23).

23; 43 (2); 44; 46; 64; 66; 83 (3); 86 (2); 92 (2); 97;  
101; 103; 108; 133; 9 (Suppl.); and one not in Cohen.

DOMITIAN (42).

14; 25 (2); 42; 91 (2); 94; 98 (2); 100 (2); 112 (3);  
115 (2); 118; 120; 131; 134 (3); 137; 138 (2); 142,  
and another of this class imperfect; 147; 160; 164 (2);  
166 (2); 169; 205; 213; 215 (2); 220; 232; 244; 6  
(Suppl.)

NERVA (6).

22 (2); 28; 29; 31; 43.

TRAJAN (28).

27; 28; 32 (2); 39; 41; 42; 43; 53 (3); 76; 129; 136;  
144; 182; 186; 194; 224; 233; 249 (3); 250; 268 (2);  
286; and one not in Cohen.

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COINS NOT DESCRIBED IN COHEN'S "MÉDAILLES  
IMPÉRIALES."

TITUS.

1. *Obv.*—**T. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.** His head laureated to right.

*Rev.*—**IOVIS CVSTOS.** Jupiter facing, nude, holding a sceptre and patera; at his feet a flaming altar.

Differs from Cohen, n. 44, in the legend of the obverse.

TRAJAN.

1. *Obv.*—**IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM.** His naked bust laureated to right.

*Rev.*—**PONT · MAX · TR · POT · COS · II.** Hygieia seated to left, before an altar, from which a serpent rises, which she feeds from a patera.

There is nothing nearer to this in Cohen than his n. 196.

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

(Reprinted from the "Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History," vol. iv., 1874.)

## X.

### THE SHORT CROSS QUESTION.

As I have ventured to form an opinion on this subject somewhat different from that which so great an authority as Mr. Evans has expressed in the fifth volume of the new series of the Numismatic Chronicle (p. 255), I should be glad to be allowed to state my reasons for doing so, in the hope that Mr. Evans, or some other member of the Numismatic Society, will be kind enough to point out the errors into which I have probably fallen. I should state that I have derived nearly all my facts either directly or indirectly from Mr. Evans's article.

Mr. Evans divides the short cross pennies into five classes, the first of which he considers to have been struck by Henry II. in 1180 and subsequent years, the second mainly by Richard I., the third and fourth by John and in the first few years of Henry III., and the fifth by Henry III. before 1247 or 1248, when the long cross pennies were introduced. Now, I agree that Mr. Evans has most satisfactorily proved that the issue of short cross pennies commenced in 1180, and continued without a break of anything like twenty-seven years, which was the length of the reigns of Richard I. and John, till the long cross coinage of 1248; and I agree also that his Class I. must have been the first class issued.

But we have of that class some coins reading IOAN ON LIHEFL, which can only be Lichfield. Now, though Stephen granted a mint to this place, Henry II. revoked all Stephen's grants, and the name does not appear on any coins of the Tealby type; but Richard I., in his first year, again granted a mint to Lichfield; hence it would seem that these Lichfield coins of Class I. must necessarily have been struck in Richard's reign. And again, Lefwine, who struck coins at Lincoln of Class I. only, is mentioned as still a moneyer at that place in a Pipe Roll of the fourth year of John (Madox, *Hist. Exch.* i. 737). I would submit that it appears from these facts that coins of Class I. did not cease with Henry II.'s reign, but were issued certainly in Richard I.'s, and probably in the beginning of John's reign.

Then, with respect to Class II., Mr. Evans supposes that it was struck mainly, at any rate, under Richard I., and I admit that he has shown a probability that it was issued somewhat later than Class I.; but if the name Aimer, which appears on coins of Classes I. and II., stands for Philip Aymary, then Class II. must have commenced before Philip Aymary was banished, which he was in Henry II.'s time (*Rud.*, vol. i. 171); and Aimer certainly signifies the same person as Filaimer, which appears on coins of Class I., as the two names occur on coins otherwise absolutely identical (see Mr. Vaux's article in *Num. Chron.*, v. 243). Neither Aimer nor Filaimer occur, I believe, on any other coins, and there seems but little danger in supposing them to refer to the historical Philip Aymary. Class II. must therefore have commenced before Henry II.'s death; and the only actual proof that this, as well as Class I., continued to be struck under Richard I., rests on the fact of the existence of coins

of Durham of Class II., and on the assumption that Henry II., in 1180, took away from Durham the dies belonging not only to the prelatical, but also to the royal or palatine mint, in that city, and that therefore no coins can have been struck there of the short cross type before Richard I. granted the county palatine to the Bishop of Durham. It appears to me that this assumption is not borne out by the Boldon Book, which, in saying that Henry II. at last took away the dies from Durham, is probably only referring to the episcopal dies, as Ruding too seems to have thought (*Rud.*, vol. ii. 165). However, if it cannot be proved that any coins of Class II. were struck under Richard I., yet, as we know that some of Class I. were, and as a greater proportion of the moneyers of Class II. than of Class I. continued to strike in Classes III. and IV., we may assume that Class II. also continued to be issued until the commencement of the new coinage in 1205. But I would submit that in all probability the dies for Type II., as well as those for Type I., were for the most part engraved while Henry II. was still alive; that Richard I., during the few months of his reign which elapsed before he started on his crusade, was in much too great a hurry to get money to be willing to incur the delay of engraving new dies, and accordingly used those of his father; that it was not thought advisable to put Richard's name on the very few dies which had to be engraved in his reign for the places to which he himself granted mints, while all other places were coining in Henry's name; that John, while acting as regent, did not order a new coinage, partly perhaps because of the expense, and partly also because he had no wish unnecessarily to obtrude on the country the name of a king whom he hoped to supplant; and that when he

became king himself, and ordered a new coinage, he preferred to follow the precedent he himself had set, rather than give a dissatisfied nation reason for contrasting his conduct as regent with what he was doing as king. It seems at least more probable that some such series of events as this took place, than that a somewhat extensive coinage, such as that of Class II., of which there is no mention in history, should have taken place in Richard's reign, and should nevertheless have been allowed to bear Henry's name. If this reasoning should be assented to, then Classes I. and II. must be arranged under Henry II.

As to Classes III. and IV., I admit that they were first issued in 1205. But as out of 57 moneyers in Class IV. 52 struck also in Class III., I would venture to doubt the desirability of dividing into two classes coins which differ so very slightly in type from each other. I would submit also that these classes probably continued to be issued simultaneously with Class V., until the long cross coins were introduced in 1248. The coins of Class V. were struck in only five towns—London, Canterbury, Durham, Oxford, St. Edmondsbury. Those of Classes III. and IV. were struck at the same five, and at Carlisle, Chichester, Exeter, Ipswich, Lynn, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, York, and (what is supposed to be) Rhuddlan. All these seventeen towns, except Chichester, Ipswich, Lynn, Rochester, and Rhuddlan, struck also long cross coins. Therefore, if only Class V. was issued after about 1220, the mints of seven towns must have been worked up to the beginning of Henry III.'s reign, then thrown out of work, and again resumed twenty-eight years afterwards; but for this there seems to be but little adequate motive or explanation. There are certainly, however, two towns—Shrewsbury and



Wilton—which seem to have ceased coining in 1205, and which yet struck long cross coins. Then again, the great abundance of coins in Classes III. and IV., which employed 82 moneyers, while the most numerous of the other classes (Class I.) employed only 61, makes it likely that Classes III. and IV. may have extended over a greater period than the other classes did. Moreover, there are no coins of York of Class V.; but in 1217 leave was granted to the Archbishop of York to have a mint in his city; and as the then Archbishop continued in the see till 1255, it seems unlikely that he would have allowed his mint to fall into disuse within three or four years after the date of the grant. If, however, coins continued to have been struck there, they must have been of Classes III. and IV. And again, in an appendix to John of Oxenede's Chronicle, published by the Master of the Rolls, there is a list of the moneyers and other officers of the mint appointed in various towns in 1248. Of these towns, 8 struck short cross coins of Classes III. and IV., employing 37 moneyers; and of these 37 names, 17 reappear as officers of the mint of those same towns in 1248, or, if Winchester be excluded from the list, of 27 names 16 reappear. It is true that not much weight can be attached to this argument, as the names that reappear are all extremely common ones; but still it is submitted that the above facts, though of no great importance separately, yet all point the same way, and that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we ought to suppose that Classes III. and IV. continued to be issued during Henry III.'s reign simultaneously with Class V.

Mr. Evans has, I think, made it probable that Class V. was first issued soon after the beginning of Henry III.'s reign, though perhaps rather earlier than 1222, when it

would appear (see Ruding) that a considerable number of new dies were delivered for use. Whether this class entirely superseded Classes III. and IV., even in the five towns in which alone it was struck, appears doubtful. These five towns employed 43 moneyers in Classes III. and IV., 31 in Class V., and 32 in the long cross coinage. Of those 32, 14 appear as of the same places in Classes III. and IV., and only 7 in Class V.; so that as far as this evidence goes it would seem that Classes III. and IV. were probably not discontinued, even in these five towns, during the issue of Class V. I should state that the number of long cross moneyers is obtained by comparing a list of those in the British Museum with Mr. Sainthill's lists in *Olla Podrida*, pp. 129, 386.

On the whole, then, it seems to me that there was only one general recoinage in the period between 1180 and 1248, namely, that recorded by several contemporary writers in 1205; that Mr. Evans's Classes I. and II. were both of them issued under Henry II., and continued to form the only currency till 1205,—Class II. having, however, been probably issued a few years later than Class I.; that such coins as may have been struck under Richard I. were struck from the dies of these two classes; that in 1205 Mr. Evans's Classes III. and IV., forming in fact only one class, were issued, and that they probably continued to be used till 1248; but that a few years after Henry III.'s accession Class V. was also issued, and was thenceforth used simultaneously with Classes III. and IV.

I should like to say a word in conclusion as to the *custodes cuneorum*. Mr. Evans has published, from the Record Office, the names of eight persons who were sworn as *custodes cuneorum*, and four who were sworn as

custodes monetæ, in the city of London, in 1222. The latter were the moneyers, and their names all appear on the short cross coins of London of Class V. which were struck about that time; two also appear in Classes III. and IV. But of the eight custodes cuneorum, *all* appear as moneyers in Classes III. and IV., and four appear also in Class V. Surely this must be more than a coincidence, although the names are common ones, and may not in every instance indicate the same person. One of the persons, however, appointed custodes cuneorum in 1222 was Willielmus de Lindesie, and as Willelm L. occurs as a moneyer on a coin of Class III., we may fairly conclude that this at least is the same person. It would seem from this that persons who were or had been moneyers were sometimes, if not frequently, made custodes cuneorum, the latter office being perhaps a promotion. But the reverse operation, a custos cuneorum being made a moneyer, seems to have taken place sometimes; for whereas in 1222 Adam Blundus and Ricardus de Nekinton were sworn in as custodes cuneorum at London, in 1230 Adam de Bedeleie and Richard de Neketon were sworn as moneyers at the same place. These may possibly have been different people from, or the sons of, the custodes of 1222; but the names Adam and Ricard appear on all the Classes III., IV., and V. The name of Willem Ta, which appears on a coin of Class V., probably stands for William the Tailor, who seems to have been made a custos cunei in 1230: he may very likely have been a moneyer previously to this. And again, in the appendix to John of Oxenede's Chronicle above mentioned, where the names of four moneyers and four custodes cuneorum appointed in 1248 for each town are given, out of the names for eight towns, seven of the custodes cuneorum and only six

of the moneyers appear as moneyers on the previous types. Moreover, at Northampton, Philippus filius Roberti is mentioned as having been elected both moneyer and custos cuneorum, and Philip occurs as a moneyer on a long cross penny of that town. These facts would seem to indicate that moneyers were often appointed custodes cuneorum, and a possibility that custodes cuneorum were sometimes appointed moneyers; and at any rate it would seem that it cannot be said that the custodes cuneorum, though "the most trustworthy and important officers attached to the mints," yet "knew nothing of the moneyer's art, or the management of the mint." See Mr. Fairholt's paper in Num. Chron., N.S., v. 361.

R. L. KENYON.

## XI.

### FURTHER REMARKS ON THE SHORT CROSS QUESTION.

I AM glad to welcome in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle a new contributor on the subject of the English coinage, although his first article consists of a criticism on a paper of my own, which made its appearance in this Journal some ten years ago.

The points of difference between Mr. Kenyon and myself are, I am glad to find, of no great importance with regard to the main questions relating to the issue of the short cross pennies; nor indeed are they so numerous as at the first sight of his article it would appear. His facts are as he states nearly all derived from me, and his conclusions where he thinks that they differ from mine do not in reality always do so to the extent that he supposes.

Mr. Kenyon agrees with me that the coins of my Class I. were the first issued, and that those of Class II. succeeded; he thinks, however, that some coins of Class I., as for instance those from the Lichfield mint, must have been struck under Richard I., and that some of those of Class II. were struck under Henry II. Now I have distinctly stated (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. pp. 263 and 264) that in my opinion there is a transition from the coins of one class into the other, and moreover that there

are easy transitions from each class of the series into its successor, with the exception of the passage between Class II. and III., which is far more abrupt than the others. I never assigned the coins of Class I. struck at the Lichfield mint to any other period than that of Richard I., nor did I ever limit the coins of Class I. to the time of Henry II., though I regarded, and still regard, the best specimens of that class as being characteristic of his reign, especially those on which the Roman E and square E occur. What I said on the subject (*op. cit.* p. 295) was "that the coinage of the short cross pennies commenced under Henry II., whose coins are *approximately* represented by those I have placed under Class I.," and that the coinage *continued* under Richard I., whose coins are represented *mainly* by Class II., though probably some of these belong also to the first years of John. The great reformation of the coinage which introduced Classes III. and IV. I consider to have taken place under John in 1204 or 1205.

As to Lefwine the moneyer at Lincoln, I may observe that the evidence that he struck no coins of Class II. is purely negative, nor is there any positive evidence that he was still coining in 1202—3, though in the document cited he is termed "monetarius," as his fellow debtor Baldwin is termed "tannator." The Roll in which he is mentioned has, I may add, nothing to do with the coinage.

With regard to the identity of Aimer the moneyer and Philip Aymary, I can only say that on this point I am not prepared to accept the views expressed by Mr. Vaux and adopted by Mr. Kenyon. Even assuming that the name FIL TIMER is intended for Philip Aymary, I cannot see that the identity in workmanship between the

coins bearing that name and those with the name of AIMER at all implies that the same person is intended. On the contrary, if the dies were engraved at the same time and by the same artist, the difference in the legends would prove that distinct moneyers were intended, like the WILLÆLM B, WILLÆLM L, and WILLÆLM T of the London Mint. If Aymary was a surname, it is highly improbable that it would appear alone on the coins, for if but one name of the moneyer was to be given, it would from all analogy have been the Christian name, Philip, and not the surname, Aymary.

As to the dies for the coins of Class II., as well as those for Class I., having been all engraved while Henry II. was still alive, I can see no reason for such a supposition. It is *à priori* improbable; and in so short a time as the nine years which intervened between the first issue of the short cross pennies in 1180 and the death of Henry II., it is difficult to imagine such a change in the workmanship to have occurred. It is still more difficult to believe, if we consider that the dies for the Lichfield mint, which are of Class I., were engraved after the accession of Richard I. To any one examining a series of coins it will I think be evident that the transition from one class to the other was gradual, and that the mints continued at work while it was going on, without there having been any extensive coinage at any one time, such as suggested by Mr. Kenyon, the want of mention of which in history appears to cause him a difficulty. Mr. Kenyon has attempted to show, though with but little ground for so doing, that I was wrong in not assigning the Lichfield and Lincoln coins of Class I. to Richard I., but after this there seems an inconsistency in his attempting, two pages later, to arrange both Classes I. and II. under Henry II.

To turn to a subject on which we are more nearly agreed. Mr. Kenyon admits that the coins of Classes III. and IV. were first issued in 1205, but doubts whether it is desirable to divide into two classes coins which differ so very slightly from each other. His remarks remind me of my own words, "These two classes might perhaps with more propriety be termed varieties of one class. Together they constitute what Mr. Pownall calls 'the middle short cross type.'"

But though there is a transition from these coins into those of Class V., I cannot admit with Mr. Kenyon that coins of all three classes continued to be issued simultaneously until the long cross coins were introduced in 1248. The difference in the size and workmanship of the two classes is so great as in my opinion to render such a supposition quite untenable.

The difficulty raised as to mints being thrown out of work, and again after an interval resumed, appears to me imaginary, as there are plenty of instances of such intermissions.

With regard to the great abundance of coins in Classes III. and IV., rendering it probable that their issue extended over a greater period than did that of the other classes, Mr. Kenyon is I think under a misapprehension. Though the moneyer's names may be more numerous, the coins are not. Unfortunately, the examination of the Eccles hoard did not extend to an exact enumeration of the coins under the different types. If, however, a reference is made to the list given in Vol. v. p. 221, it will be seen that the coins of Bury St. Edmunds, Canterbury, and London,—where principally coins of Class V. were struck,—number in all 5,133 coins out of 5,715. I think that I am not far wrong in estimating



that at least one half of the coins of those towns were to be placed in Class V. Of Elis alone who struck none but coins of that class at London, 159 coins are enumerated, (Vol. v. p. 229), of Terri 81, of Roger of R. at Canterbury, 89, and of Norman at St. Edmund's Bury, 60, so that the coins of this class struck by these four moneyers alone formed a fifteenth part of the whole hoard.

I will only add that, after a consideration of all the facts of the case, I at present see no valid reason for departing from the conclusions to which I came in 1865: although no doubt in this, as in other cases, where much depends on circumstantial evidence, the discovery of new facts may lead to a modification of the inferences drawn from the evidence. I think, however, that even should new discoveries be made in the history of the mints, the result will be rather some modification in the details, than any fundamental change in the arrangement and attribution of the coins.

JOHN EVANS.

## XII.

### UNPUBLISHED AND RARE VARIETIES OF SCOTTISH COINS.

#### No. III.

THE following unpublished or very rare varieties of Scottish coins have lately been added to my collection, and a description of them may be of interest to other collectors of the same series.

Beginning with the gold coins, the first I shall notice is a lion of Robert II. (Pl. I. fig. 1).

*Obv.*—Arms of Scotland in a shield.

✠ ROBERTVS DEI G REX SCO.

*Rev.*—St. Andrew's cross extending to the edge between fleurs de lis and trefoils in opposite angles. Legend commencing at the bottom.

✠ DNS : PTECTOR : MS : LI.

Weight,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

Nicolson, in his "Scottish Historical Library" (p. 294, ed. 1702), mentions a gold coin of similar type and with the same legends, which he ascribes to Robert II.; and Maitland describes the same coin in his "History of Scotland" (vol. i. p. 219). No other notice of it occurs, that I am aware of, till Lindsay, in his "View of the Coinage of Scotland," refers to Maitland's History, but states that no trace of such a coin could be found; nor

does he give it in his "Descriptive Catalogue." Nicolson was a most accurate writer, and most of his information about Scottish gold was derived from Professor Sutherland, the founder of the splendid collection of Scottish coins now in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland; and the accuracy of his description has been proved by the fact that on lately going over that collection the coin was found. The piece now described differs from the Sutherland specimen in two respects, being lighter in weight, and having the legend on the reverse, terminating with LL.

Another lion of Robert II. has the shield formed in a peculiar manner, with the outer line composed of dots (Pl. I. fig. 2). This variety is also very rare. It is figured by Wingate, Pl. 10, fig. 4.

The next coin is also a lion of Robert II. (Pl. I. fig. 3).

*Obv.*—Arms of Scotland in a shield.

✠ R ROBERTVS : D : G : REX : SCOT :

*Rev.*—St. Andrew's cross extending to the edge between fleurs de lis and trefoils.

XPC VINCIIT XPC REGNAT.

Weight,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

This lion, from the Wigan Collection, presents the remarkable peculiarity of a letter R occurring between the m.m. and the commencement of the king's name. I am unable to offer any explanation of this in the meantime. Possibly other examples may occur.

The coin figured in Pl. I. fig. 4 is the most remarkable of all the lions of Robert II., and has been described in almost every work on Scottish coins.

*Obv.*—Arms of Scotland in a shield, with a tressure of eight arcs.

✠ ROBERTVS X DEI X GRATIA X REX.

*Rev.*—St. Andrew's cross extending to the edge between fleurs de lis and trefoils.

XPQ ✕ VINQIT ✕ XPQ ✕ RÆGRAT.

Weight, 28 grains.

The only two known specimens of this variety were both in the Sutherland Collection. The one now described was obtained at the sale of the duplicates of that cabinet, in April, 1873. It is figured by Anderson in his "Numismata Scotica," Pl. CLII. fig. 3; by Wise, Tab. XXII.; by Snelling, Pl. I. fig. 3; by Cardonnel, Pl. I. fig. 3; and by Lindsay, Pl. 12, No. 7. Nicolson ascribes it to Robert III., on the ground that the motto on the reverse was not introduced till his reign: but this conjecture requires confirmation.

Among the demies, or lozenge lions, of James I. and II. I may notice first the following very rare variety, which is unpublished.

*Obv.*—Arms of Scotland in a lozenge-shaped shield.

✠ + I ✕ TCOBVS + DE + I GRATIA + REXSE +

*Rev.*—Type and legend as usual, but with circles of chain work. Weight, 52 grains.

Another specimen of this variety is in the cabinet of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen. Groats of James I., with the same peculiar circle, will be found figured by Lindsay, Pl. VI. fig. 127, and Wingate, Pl. XVI. fig. 2. The variety of ornament on these demies is almost endless. The mint-marks are also very numerous, and a very peculiar one may be noticed: It is a circle of six pellets, with one in the centre, followed by a cross and a fleur-de-lis.



The St. Andrews, commonly appropriated to James I.

(*vide* Lindsay, Pl. XII. fig. 13), have usually inner circles on both sides. One, a duplicate from the Sutherland Collection (lot 158), has the inner circle on the obverse only. I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen and Mr. E. Burns for directing my attention to some points which lead them, and I think correctly, to doubt the accuracy of the present appropriation of this coinage. By comparing the St. Andrews with the groats of the crown, it is made almost certain that the dies were the work of the same hand; and that therefore the gold coins belong to James II., and were the coinage authorised in 1451. The  $\Omega$  at the end of the legend on the obverse, in every specimen I have seen, is smaller than the other letters; and this not from want of room, but from design, and probably a privy mark. The form of the O's also is remarkable: and on the whole I think that Lindsay's appropriation cannot be maintained.

The unicorns usually appropriated to James IV. are very rare. None of those described by Cardonnel, Lindsay, or Wingate, have any notice of a mullet of five points which occurs on the centre of the flaming star on the obverse; nor to a star of five points, which is also found. Both of these coins were duplicates from the Sutherland Collection (lots 190, 191), and both have  $\times$  below the unicorn.

The remarkable and hitherto supposed unique unicorn XC on the obverse, formerly in the Lindsay Cabinet, but now in Mr. Wingate's, is figured in Lindsay's first supplement, Pl. III. fig. 2, and also in Wingate, Pl. XXII. fig. 1. The one now figured (Pl. I. fig. 6) differs slightly, as will be noticed, from the specimen already published.

*Obv.*—Unicorn, with coronet round the neck, supporting the arms of Scotland in a shield, from the bottom of

which proceeds a chain terminated by an annulet.  
X C below the unicorn.

✠ IACOBVS . DEI . GRA . REX . SCOTORVM . ✠

*Rev.*—As Lindsay, p. 162, No. 65, but with a mullet of five points in the centre. Countermarked with a cinquefoil in the third quarter.

✠ EXVRGAT . DEVS . ET . DISIPENT . INIMICI . E.

Weight, 58½ grains.

The only other recorded specimen has a pellet on the flaming star, and EXVRGAT . DES < DISIPNT . INIMICI . EI, with a small crescent pellet and star mint-mark. It also weighs somewhat heavier (see Wingate, p. 80). I have been unable to find any record of the peculiar countermark which occurs on these two coins, and also on one with X only, which was in the cabinet of the late General Ainslie (see lot 78 of his Sale Catalogue). A manuscript note by the late Mr. J. D. Cuff (in his copy of Cardonnel's "Numismata Scotica," now in my library), referring to this coin of General Ainslie's, suggests that the cinquefoil was a countermark of the Regent Hamilton; and I think this suggestion highly probable. Morton's countermark (a heart and star) was put on the placks of Mary's reign (see Act of Parliament of Scotland, 1574).

The half unicorns of this reign are extremely rare. They are not published either by Lindsay or Wingate, and only one or two are known. The following one is in most beautiful condition (Pl. I. fig. 5).

*Obv.*—Unicorn supporting the shield, with annulet and pellet below it.

✠ IACOBVS . DEI . GRATIA . REX . SCOTORVM . ✠

*Rev.*—As Lindsay, p. 162, No. 65, but with pellet in the centre.

✠ EXVGT . DEVS . ET . DISIPENT . INIMICI . EIVS \*

Weight, 29 grains.

The last gold coin I shall notice at present is a half lion of Mary (Pl. I. fig. 7).

*Obv.*—The arms of Scotland in a shield, crowned, between I · G.  
MARIA DEI GR SCOTORV.

*Rev.*—Monogram, crowned, between two cinquefoils.

✱ DILIGITE · IVSTICIAM 1555.

Weight, 39 grains.

On all the specimens figured in the works of Lindsay and Wingate, the crown, both on obverse and reverse, is the low-arched one usually found on the lions. In this specimen the crown is a double-arched one, similar to that found on the portrait coins of 1555. The legend on the obverse usually reads MARIA · D · G · R · SCOTORVM.

Of the silver coins, the first I have to notice is a very beautiful silver penny of Alexander III. (Pl. I. fig. 9).

*Obv.*—Crowned head to the left, with sceptre in front.

✱ ALEXANDER · DEI · G'CIAT ·

*Rev.*—Long single cross, with mullets of six points.

✱ ASCROSSIA · REX.

Weight, 21 grains.

This coin is of very superior workmanship and finish to the ordinary type of six-pointed mullets. A specimen in Mr. Pollexfen's collection is almost identical in type, but has a double pellet between ASCROSSIA and REX. These differ from Lindsay Pl. IV. No. 74 in the reverse legend, and from Pl. IV. No. 77, in reading G'CIAT.

The next coin is also a silver penny of Alexander III. (Pl. I. fig. 12).

*Obv.*—Crowned head to the left, with sceptre.

✱ ALEXANDER DEI · G'SIA ·

*Rev.*—Long single cross, with mullets of six points.

SCOT · TORVM REX ·

Weight, 19 grains.

A third variety is similar to Lindsay (Pl. IV. No. 74), but has three pellets as a mint-mark on the obverse (thus : ) instead of two.<sup>1</sup> The coin figured in Pl. I. fig. 11, is similar to Wingate (Pl. VII. fig. 6), but with †ΛΛΞΣΤΑΝΔΕΡ ΔΕΙ : Γ'ΣΙΠ. on the obverse, and ✕·ÆSCOSSIA : REX : on the reverse.

These pellets were no doubt privy marks of the moneyers. The double pellet occurs in a coin of the common type and legend immediately before the cross (thus : ✕), and again in another penny ✕·ÆSCOSSIA : REX.

Groats of Robert II. have usually six points in the tressure on the obverse. Wingate (p. 44) mentions that all the groats he had seen of this reign had six arcs, though on the half groats seven had been noticed. A groat with seven arcs has lately come into my possession.

Pennies of Robert III., with the mint on the reverse, are very rare. One Edinburgh penny has on the obverse the very unusual legend—

† ROBERTVS DEI GRA REX S.

Pennies of the same reign and of the Perth mint are of the very highest degree of rarity. I only know at present of two : one in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the one now described.

*Obv.*—Portrait, full-faced and crowned.

✕ ROBERTVS REX SCOTORVM.

*Rev.*—Long single cross, with three pellets in angles.

VILLÆ D † & PÆRTH †

Weight, 15 grains.

The groats of the fleur-de-lis type of James I. and II.

<sup>1</sup> Another specimen is in Mr. Pollexfen's cabinet ; also one with only one pellet between the double T of "Scottorum," but with the † mint-mark and DEI : Γ'CIΠ.



exhibit many minor varieties: one of the most curious is an open ornamental quatrefoil on the end of the sceptre, which sometimes occurs.

The varieties among the testoons of Mary, with the cross potent, are principally due to blunders in the spelling of the legend, or to bad striking. Amongst the first class I may notice LIBEA for LIBERA, and VIRTVE, VERTVTE for VIRTUTE; amongst the second, 1556 on the reverse, and 1557 on the obverse. Annulets commonly occur below the M and R on the obverse of these testoons, and some variety may be noticed in the position of these. Usually one annulet is found below each of the two letters, but in one specimen of 1556 a double annulet occurs below the M (thus M), and only one below the R.

On two other coins, also of 1556, the annulet is both above and below the  $\overset{\circ}{R}$ . Occasionally there are no annulets at all. This is particularly the case with those of 1558, though the peculiarity is sometimes also found in those of 1556. A more remarkable variety of the testoon of 1558 has the letter A below the R on the obverse. One specimen has been recorded (Lindsay, Supp. p. 17, No. 151), and the one now noticed is the only other I have heard of.

The testoons of Francis and Mary present very few varieties. The following is only curious on account of the mint-mark.

*Obv.*—As Lindsay, "Descriptive Catalogue," No. 493, but reading  
FRAN · ET · MA · D · G · R · R · FRANCO · SCOTORV

*Rev.*—As Lindsay, Des. Cat. 493, but with (·x·) as mint-mark.

The coins figured in Plate II. figs. 1, 2, 3, cannot cer-

tainly be called rare varieties, but as this is the first time they have ever appeared in their proper place it may be not without interest to notice them here. Immediately after the accession of James VI. to the English throne steps were taken to change the type of the Scottish coins. On the 10th of September, 1604, Napier of Merchiston, General of His Majesty's Mint in Scotland, came up to London to confer regarding the coinage. On the 15th of November a special grant of privileges, in favour of the officers of the Mint in Edinburgh, was made; and on the following day the formal contract with Acheson, then master moneyer, was entered into. The new coinage was to consist of five sorts of gold, and seven sorts of silver coins. The type of the reverse of the gold coins was to be exactly the same as the English, save that there was to be a little thistle at the beginning of the legend. The silver crown, or 60s. Scots piece, and half crown, were to have besides a thistle on the shield on the horse trappings. The dies were engraved by Foullis. This coinage was issued from the Scottish Mint between February, 1605, and December, 1610, when the type of the reverse was altered, and the arms of Scotland placed in two quarters of the shield. The remaining coins on the same plate (figs. 4, 5, 6) have hitherto been considered varieties of the coinage of 1637; but the Privy Council record shows that in 1636 a coinage was authorised to consist of half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces, the type and legends of which are minutely described, and correspond with the coins figured.

The half-merk (Pl. II. fig. 6) has on the

*Obv.*—The King's head crowned to the left, with  $\frac{\text{VI}}{8}$  behind it,

and the legend

CAROLVS · D · G · SCOT : ANG : FR · & · HIB · R ·

*Rev.*—Shield of arms crowned, and legend  
CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO ·

The forty-penny piece (Pl. II. fig. 4) has on the

*Obv.*—The king's head, crowned, to the left, with XL behind it, and the legend

CAR : D : G : SCOT : ANG : FR : & HIB : R :

*Rev.*—Thistle crowned.

SALVS · REIP : SVPR : LEX.

The twenty-penny piece (Pl. II. fig. 5) has on the

*Obv.*—The king's head crowned as above, but with XX behind it, and

CAR D G SCOT ANG · FR · & HIB · R

*Rev.*—Thistle crowned, with

IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT.

Most people have heard of the Scottish "bawbee," but it has not been generally known that they were coined so early as 1542. Ruddiman, in his preface to Anderson's "Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ," quotes a remark of Sir James Balfour (§ LIX), that the "babees" were first introduced towards the close of the reign of James V. The author of the Hopetoun MS. confirms this view, and says, under the year 1542, that the "bawbeis" were coined then. A singular variety of these coins is given in Pl. I. figs. 8, 10. Generally the annulet is above the I on the obverse, but, both in the whole and half piece noticed, it occurs over the numeral (5̄).

The last coin I shall mention is a "bawbee" of Mary, differing from any published specimen in presenting a crescent below the crown on the reverse (Pl. I. fig. 13).

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

## MISCELLANEA.

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### THE ASHANTEE MEDAL, AND THE BEST SHOT MEDAL.

#### *Ashantee Medal.*

*Obv.*—**VICTORIA REGINA.** Veiled head of Queen Victoria, left, wearing richly jewelled diadem. On the line of the neck **L. C. WYON.**

*Rev.*—A battle scene in the bush of Ashantee; in the centre of the medal is a tree, to the right of which are negroes in various attitudes, fighting or wounded; to the left of the tree, in the background, are seen British soldiers, firing and advancing.

#### *Best Shot Medal.*

*Obv.*—**VICTORIA REGINA.** Veiled and draped bust of Queen Victoria, left, wearing open crown. Below, **L. C. WYON.**

*Rev.*—Fame standing, left, on dais ornamented with figure of a recumbent lion; behind her, a throne. She holds in her left a trumpet, and in her right a laurel-wreath over the head of an archer, who, wearing chlamys, stands below to right, with his left foot upon the dais, holding in his right hand bow and quiver, and in his left a round target supported on left knee, and in which three arrows are sticking.

No description could give any idea of the mass of matter which occupies the reverse of the first of these two medals. There are ten figures, each in a distinct and carefully-studied attitude, while every available corner is filled up either with scattered implements of war, or with an elaborate representation of the wild vegetation of the scene. When we have mentioned that the design is by Mr. Poynter it is unnecessary to say that the drawing of the figures is excellent, and the representation of the foliage only too faithful; but here all our praise must cease. The fact is the artist has utterly mistaken the nature of his work, and has sought to produce a pictorial effect

under conditions where such an attempt is simply disastrous. How disastrous only those who see this medal can understand.

The "Best Shot" medal, which, after perusing the above description, the reader will be surprised to hear is not for archery but for rifle-practice, labours under the same defect, though in a less degree. It is essentially pictorial when it should be sculpturesque. With all the merits it has too all the faults of Mr. Poynter's pictures and of the school to which he belongs, a school which, having neglected that special observance, to "o'erstep not the modesty of nature," has gone out of its way to produce a representation of life which is neither classical nor mediæval, nor indeed belonging to any age or country, least of all to our own. What could be more unlike the classical than the long-haired cadaverous face of the archer. It is distinctly an Italian face of the 15th century, but who ever saw a representation of an Italian of that century in such a dress or such a want of dress? Nevertheless it must be confessed that this medal is by no means unpleasing in design, and shows a great advance upon the efforts of British art in former years, which have, as a rule, been beneath criticism.

C. F. K.

TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.—The two following seventeenth century tokens, not given by Boyne or Smith, are in the cabinet of the Rev. B. W. Adams, D.D., of Cloghran Rectory, county Dublin, who has sent us their description for publication.

GALWAY.

*Obv.*—\* **STE : VINES · OF · GALLWAY.** A bunch of grapes.

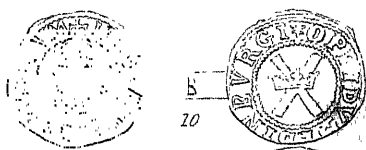
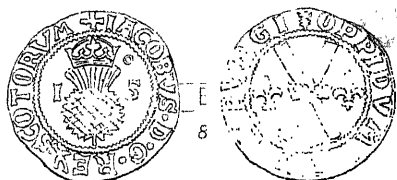
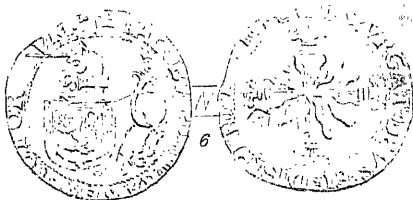
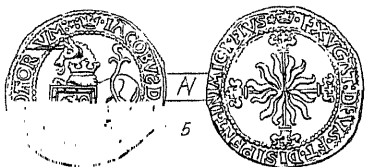
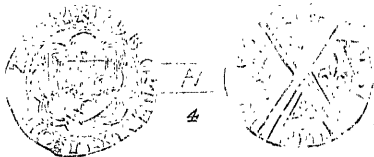
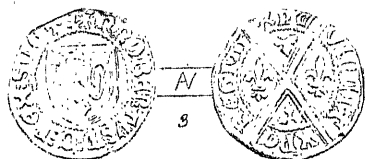
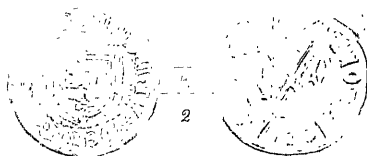
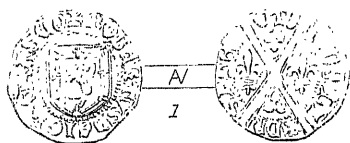
*Rev.*—\* **GOD · SAVE · THE · KING · 1664.** An anchor between I—D.

NORBERTH ?

*Obv.*—**ALLEX · BATEMAN.** A coat of arms.

*Rev.*—**OF NORBERTH 1667.** A dove, standing.

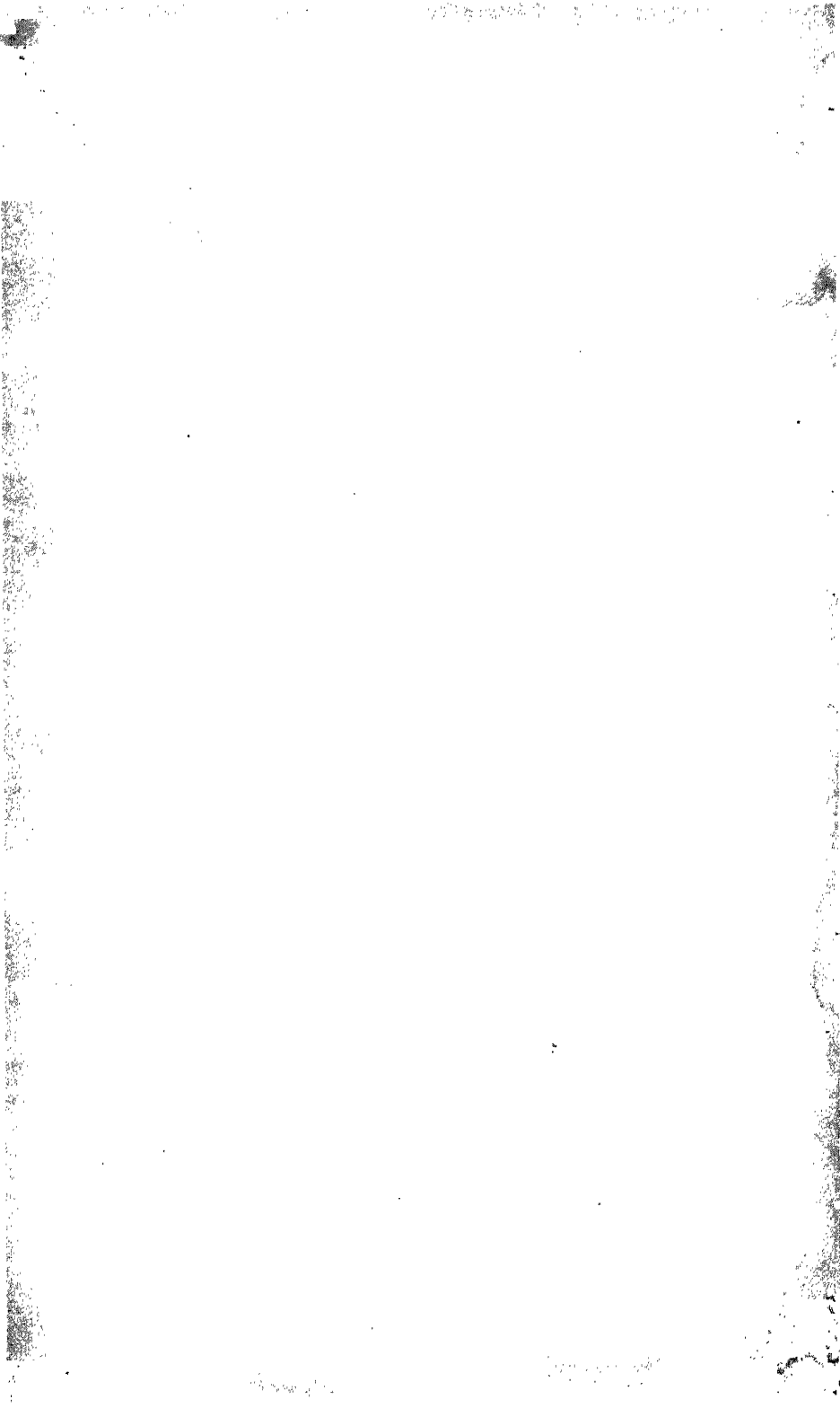
This piece is in poor preservation, but the legend appears to be correctly given. Dr. Adams suggests that Norberth is Narberth in Pembrokeshire.

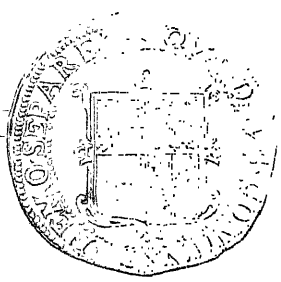


13



12





1



2



3



4



5



6

6





### XIII.

#### JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE  
AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED  
IN 1864.

#### § IV. COINS STRUCK BY THE PROCURATORS.

AT the banishment of Archelaus, in A.D. 6, Judæa was made a Roman province, and Augustus appointed Publius Sulpicius Quirinus<sup>1</sup> proprætor of Syria, and sent Coponius, a man of the Equestrian order, as the first procurator of Judæa, under him, with the power of life and death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Quirinus is the same as the Cyrenius governor of Syria mentioned by St. Luke (ii. 2). I have already pointed out in another place (Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 208, *note*) that the late Abbé Cavedoni suggested that I should have written *Quirinius* and not *Quirinus*, and principally on the authority of an inscription given by Marini ("Atti e Monumenti degli Arvali," pp. 782, 787), and I showed that no reliance could be placed on it as regards correct orthography; moreover that there was another inscription, certainly authentic, having the form *Quirinus*, and that Quirinus was the *correct Latin* form of Cyrenius. I need not here enter upon the disputed question of "the taxing of Cyrenius," and beg to refer my readers, *inter alia*, to Mr. Boyle's work "The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel," p. 573, *seq.* London, 1863, and to Mr. T. Lewin's "Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 19, *note*.

<sup>2</sup> Jos., "Antiq.," xviii. 1, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 8, 1. The procurators were, however, responsible to the governors of Syria (Jos., *passim*; Tac., "Ann." xii. 54). The proper Greek rendering for procurator is ἐπίτροπος, and so Cumanus is called by Josephus "Antiq." xx. 6, 2; on the other hand, Josephus

About the end of the year A.D. 9, or the commencement of A.D. 10, Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius succeeded him in the government. He does not, however, appear to have remained very long in office, as we find that Annius Rufus was procurator of Judæa at the death of Augustus in A.D. 14,<sup>3</sup> and that Tiberius, on his accession, sent Valerius Gratus to succeed him in A.D. 15.<sup>4</sup> Gratus remained in Judæa eleven years, and was succeeded by Pontius Pilate about the end of A.D. 26.<sup>5</sup> Pilate held the government ten years, when he was deposed by Vitellius, and sent to Rome in A.D. 35 or A.D. 36.<sup>6</sup>

"Antiq." xviii. 3, 1, calls Pilate ἡγεμών (Lat. *præses*), and this term is used in the New Testament (A. V. 'governor') of Pilate (Matt. xxvii.; Luke xx. 20); of Felix (Acts xxiii. xxiv.); and of Festus (Acts xxvi. 30). The word **ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑ** occurs on a coin of Nero struck at Perperene in Mysia (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* Vol. ii. p. 474; Vol. iv. p. 243), and the title **ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ** is found only once in the whole series of Greek Imperial coins on a coin of Vespasian struck in Bithynia *in genere*. It is described by Eckhel (vol. ii. p. 404; vol. iv. p. 249) after Haym. I do not know if genuine specimens exist. The word *ἐπίτροπος* occurs in Luke viii. 3, for Herod Antipas's "steward," (cf. Matt. xx. 8) and in Gal. iv. 2 it is translated "tutor."

<sup>3</sup> Διαδέχεται δε καὶ τοῦτον Ἀννίος Ροῦφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ.—Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 2, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Jos., "Antiq." *loc. cit.* It seems probable, as also Mr. Lewin has observed ("Fasti Sacri," p. 150, No. 1033), that Augustus employed the same policy as regards the tenure of office of the procurators as he did with the *proprætores* (Dion. Cass. lii. 23), namely, to keep them in office three years, and so, if Coponius was appointed in A.D. 6, his term of three years would end in A.D. 9; his successor, Ambivius, would be recalled in A.D. 12, and Annius Rufus in A.D. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐνδεκά ἔτη διατρέψας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δε Πιλάτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν.—Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 2, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Πιλάτος, δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρέψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπέλγετο.—Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 4, 2. The actual date of Pilate's recall is a matter of controversy. Clinton (F.R., vol. ii. p. 236), adopting Lardner's opinion ("Credibility," vol. i. pp. 94—96, 371—377), thinks that Pilate's tenth year ended in September or October, A.D. 35. Norisius (vol. iii. pp. 516—517) places it at the end of A.D. 36, and this latter view is taken by Mr.

Vitellius then appointed a friend of his, Marcellus, to take charge of the affairs of Judæa.<sup>7</sup>

The death of Tiberius took place on March 16th, A.D. 37, and Caligula succeeded him.

Marullus was then sent by the new emperor as procurator of Judæa,<sup>8</sup> and in the same year Agrippa I. received the tetrarchy of Philip,<sup>9</sup> and in A.D. 40 Galilee and Peræa,<sup>10</sup> and on the accession of Claudius, in A.D. 41, Judæa and Samaria and the tetrarchy of Lysanias.<sup>11</sup> Marullus was probably recalled in A.D. 41 by Claudius, who succeeded to the empire this year, when the kingdom of Agrippa I. was as large as that of his grandfather, Herod I.

In the summer of A.D. 44 Agrippa I. died, and Claudius nominated Cuspius Fadus, a Roman knight,—Agrippa II. being considered too young to undertake the government of his father's kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 172, No. 1160 ; p. 247, No. 1498). The arguments pro and con are of too lengthy a nature to be produced here. De Sauley ("Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 69) assigns the deposition of Pilate to A.D. 38, and states that Tiberius died this same year, and that Agrippa I. was placed on the throne of Judæa.

<sup>7</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 4, 2. He is styled ἐπιμελητὴς, "manager."

<sup>8</sup> With the title of *Hipparch*. Ἱππάρχην δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμπει Μάρυλλον.—Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10. Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 5) gives the same title to Jucundus, an officer in Judæa in the time of Gessius Florus. Mr. Lewin ("Life of St. Paul," vol. i. p. 25 note) thinks that the *Marcellus* sent by Vitellius has been confounded with the *Marullus* sent by Caligula, and if so the Jews, on the deposal of Pilate, would have been left without a governor until the arrival of Marullus. Lardner ("Credibility," vol. i.) is of opinion that there was no procurator between the removal of Pilate and the reign of Agrippa.

<sup>9</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 10 ; "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 7, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 5, 1 ; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 5. See Section II., under F. Herod Agrippa I.

<sup>12</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xix. 9, 2 ; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6.

In A.D. 46 Tiberius Alexander<sup>13</sup> succeeded Cuspius Fadus, but the former did not long retain his appointment, for in the eighth year of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 48) Ventidius Cumanus was nominated procurator.<sup>14</sup> A quarrel having arisen between the Jews and the Samaritans, the causes of dispute were eventually submitted to Quadratus, the President of Syria, who ordered both parties, as well as Cumanus, to go to Rome to lay the case before the Emperor.

Agrippa II. was at this time at Rome, and exerted himself on behalf of the Jews, so much so that Claudius condemned the Samaritans and exiled Cumanus.<sup>15</sup>

This took place about A.D. 52.

The period of the actual dismissal of Cumanus and the appointment of Felix<sup>16</sup> is difficult to determine. Josephus

<sup>13</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 11, 6. Tiberius Alexander was the son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria and nephew of Philo (Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 8, 1; xx. 5, 2). Alexander, the father, appears to have been the same as Alexander Lysimachus the Alabarch, who was imprisoned by Caligula and set at liberty in A.D. 41 by Claudius. Another of his sons, Marcus, was the first husband of Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa I. (Jos., "Antiq." xix. 5, 1). He has also been identified by some as the "Alexander" mentioned in the Acts (iv. 6). Tiberius Alexander was a renegade (Jos., "Antiq." xx. 5, 2), and under Nero became procurator of Egypt (Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 15, 1; Tac., "Ann." xv. 28; "Hist." i. 11; ii. 74). He was the first Roman governor to acknowledge the emperor Vespasian (see under "Agrippa II."), and was made general of the army under Titus (Jos., "Bell. Jud." v. 1, 6).

<sup>14</sup> Ὁ γδοϕ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔτει.—Jos., "Antiq." xx. 5, 2. Cf. "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1, where the appointment of Cumanus is placed after the death of Herod of Chalcis.

<sup>15</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 6, 1, 2, 3; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 1—7.

<sup>16</sup> Antonius Felix (Tac., "Hist." v. 9); Claudius Felix, (Suidas in Κλαύδιος). Mr. Lewin ("Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 118) has inadvertently transposed these references. Felix only (Josephus; Acts; Tac., "Ann." xii. 54; Suet., "Claud." 28). Suetonius (*loc. cit.*) says that he was the husband of three

seems to place the removal of Cumanus in the twelfth year of Claudius (A.D. 52), and names Felix as his successor;<sup>17</sup> whilst Tacitus<sup>18</sup> speaks of Felix as *jampridem Judææ impositus*, and states that Cumanus and Felix were joint procurators, Cumanus having Galilee and Felix Samaria, which may perhaps receive some corroboration from the testimony of St. Paul:<sup>19</sup> "Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been *of many years* (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν) a judge unto this nation." This cannot, however, be accepted as positive proof of the correctness of the statement of Tacitus, for Cumanus himself, as we have seen, only received his appointment in A.D. 48, the eighth year of Claudius.<sup>20</sup> Felix was still procurator under Nero, who, at the time when he gave to Agrippa II. Julius of Peræa, Tarichæe and Tiberias of Galilee in A.D. 55, made Felix procurator over the rest of Judæa.<sup>21</sup>

Felix was superseded about A.D. 60.

Porcius Festus was sent by Nero to Judæa as the suc-

queens. According to Tacitus ("Hist." v. 9) he (*first*) married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. It is known that he married Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa II. (Acts xxiv. 24). Of his third wife nothing is known.

<sup>17</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 6, 3; 7, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8.

<sup>18</sup> "Ann." xii. 54.

<sup>19</sup> Acts xxiv. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 5, 2. According to Suetonius ("Claud." 28) and Victor ("Epit." Lugd. Bat., 1648, p. 361) it would seem as if Felix had held a military command, perhaps during the procuratorship of Cumanus. Whiston, in his note to the passage of Josephus ("Bell. Jud." ii. 12, 8) throws doubts on the statement of Tacitus, and Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 297, No. 1776) considers it "a palpable error." Mr. Lewin ("Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 159, note 87) gives the date of the "many years" as A.D. 52 to A.D. 58, the time when Paul was speaking.

<sup>21</sup> Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 13, 2. With respect to Abila, mentioned in this passage as part of the gift of Nero, see under "Agrippa II."

cessor of Felix about A.D. 60.<sup>22</sup> This procurator died about the end of A.D. 61, and Nero, when the news reached Rome, sent Albinus in his place early in A.D. 62.<sup>23</sup>

In A.D. 64 Albinus, who had been one of the most unjust of the Roman procurators, was superseded,<sup>23a</sup> and Gessius Florus was appointed procurator of Judæa.<sup>24</sup> "Duravit tamen," says Tacitus,<sup>25</sup> "patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem; sub eo bellum ortum."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 8, 9; "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 1; Acts xxiv. 27, xxv., xxvi. The dates here given are wholly at variance with those recently laid before Biblical students by Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 27 *seq.*). This gentleman states that Festus succeeded Felix in the second year of Nero, A.D. 56, and Albinus to Felix in A.D. 58. The fixing of the date A.D. 56 for the succession of Festus is considered by Mr. Conder to be proved by the clear statement of St. Jerome in his "In Evangelistas ad Damasum præfatio," that this took place in the second year of Nero, and that the point is decisive unless conflicting evidence as yet unknown can be brought against it.

<sup>23</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 9, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 1; vi. 5, 8.  
<sup>23a</sup> It has been suggested (Smith's "Dict. of Biog." s. v. Albinus), that this procurator afterwards received further appointments, and may be identified with Luceius Albinus made by Nero procurator of Mauretania Cæsariensis, to which Galba (A.D. 68) added Tingitana. A report obtained that he disdained the title of procurator (*spreto procuratoris vocabulo*), and had usurped the diadem and the name of Juba (Tac., "Hist." ii. 58). He was shortly after, together with his wife, assassinated, but Vitellius took no notice of these transactions (Tac., *loc. cit.*, 59).

<sup>24</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xx. 9, 5; 11, 1; "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 1.

<sup>25</sup> "Hist." v. 10.

<sup>26</sup> The Jewish war broke out in the *second year* of the government of Florus and the *twelfth year* of Nero (Jos., "Antiq." xx. 11, 1). The *twelfth year* of Nero, which, as we have seen under "Agrippa II.," corresponded to the *seventeenth year* of Agrippa II., was current between the 18th of October, A.D. 65, and 18th of October, A.D. 66, and it was in the month of April, A.D. 66, that the war began (Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4). Florus was therefore made procurator before April, A.D. 65.

The list of the procurators of Judæa will therefore be as follows: <sup>27</sup> —

		A.D.	A.D.
1st Procurator	COPONIUS . . . . .	6—	<sup>9</sup> 10
2nd	„ MARCUS AMBIVIVUS . . . . .	<sup>9</sup> 10	<sup>12</sup> 13
3rd	„ ANNIUS RUFUS . . . . .	<sup>12</sup> 13	<sup>14</sup> 15
4th	„ VALERIUS GRATUS . . . . .	<sup>15</sup> 15	<sup>25</sup> 26
5th	„ PONTIUS PILATE . . . . .	<sup>26</sup> 26	<sup>35</sup> 36
6th	„ MARCELLUS . . . . .	36—	37
7th	„ MARULLUS . . . . .	37—	41
[Agrippa I. King of Judæa 41—44.]			
8th Procurator	CUSPIUS FADUS . . . . .	44—	46
9th	„ TIBERIUS ALEXANDER . . . . .	46—	48
10th	„ VENTIDIUS CUMANUS . . . . .	48—	52
11th	„ CLAUDIUS or ANTONIUS FELIX . . . . .	52—	60
12th	„ PORCIUS FESTUS . . . . .	60—	61
13th	„ ALBINUS <sup>28</sup> . . . . .	62—	64
14th	„ GESSIUS FLORUS . . . . .	64—	66

<sup>27</sup> Sabinus, who is called by Josephus (“Antiq.” xvii. 9, 3) “Cæsar’s steward for Syrian affairs,” and again (“Bell. Jud.” ii. 2, 1) “the procurator of Syria,” has by some been counted among the procurators. It has been suggested by the Rev. Dr. Farrar (Kitto’s “Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.,” s. v. Procurator) that the passage in Josephus (“Antiq.” xviii. 2, 2), in which it is stated that “Tiberius sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator,” is probably the reason for this, as *πεμπτός* (*sent*) has been read *πέμπτος* (*fifth*). It would seem, however, that Sabinus was only a temporary procurator after the death of Herod I. until affairs were settled.

<sup>28</sup> Annas was *not* a procurator and successor of Albinus as erroneously stated by Mr. Grove (Smith’s “Dict. of the Bible,” s. v. Jerusalem, vol. i. p. 1010), and by me (“Hist. of Jewish Coinage,” p. 135) but was high-priest during the *interim* before the arrival of Albinus (Jos., “Antiq.” xx. 9, 1). He assembled the Sanhedrim and brought before them James the brother of Jesus and other Christians. For this he was deposed after a rule of three months. The words “brother of Jesus” are



It is necessary, previous to entering upon a description of the procuratorial coins, to call attention to the classification that has been proposed for those issued during the reign of the Emperor Augustus. It will be remembered that M. de Sauley, following Eckhel, supposed that the dates on these coins were calculated on the "era of Actium," which commenced in B.C. 31.<sup>29</sup> On the publication of my book I examined this question, and showed <sup>30</sup>—(1) that the late Mr. Wigan and Mr. Reichardt possessed coins bearing the date  $\Lambda\Gamma$  (33), and Mr. Reichardt a coin with the date  $\Lambda E$  (35); and (2) that Mommsen had positively determined what the late Abbé Cavedoni <sup>31</sup> had attempted to prove—the impossibility of M. de Sauley's theory.

Mommsen's words are as follow: <sup>32</sup>—"Si les dates

supposed to be interpolations (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," vol. i. p. 925; Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." vol. ii. p. 459; cf. Madden, "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 158, note 9).

<sup>29</sup> Rev. Num., 1853, p. 186 *seq.*; Num. Jud., p. 135. Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 142, No. 990a) also repeats the error.

<sup>30</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 137.

<sup>31</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. ii. p. 41. De Sauley in 1857, when reviewing Cavedoni's pamphlet, entitled "Appendice alla Numismatica Biblica," Modena, 1855, defended his attribution of these coins to the era of Actium.

<sup>32</sup> "Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine," by T. Mommsen. Translated from the German by the late Duc de Blacas, and edited by J. de Witte, vol. iii, p. 326, note 3. Paris, 1873. In this edition M. de Witte has so constantly omitted my name in several passages in which my writings are cited, that I am compelled to remonstrate against the injustice of the act. (1.) In the description of the rare *aureus* of Julius Cæsar with the figures  $\mathbf{LII}$  he refers in a note (vol. ii. p. 532 note 2) to the publication in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v., 1865, Pl. I. No. 1, and vol. vii., 1867, p. 258, but omits my name. (2.) In the description of the coins of the Blacas collection purchased for the British Museum (vol. iv. p. xxxvi.) he refers to my articles in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 251 *seq.* and vol. viii., 1868, p. 1 *seq.*, taking from thence

inscrites sur ces monnaies, du moins sur celles qui ont été frappées sous Auguste, se rapportent à l'ère d'Actium, Cavedoni aurait incontestablement prouvé, contrairement à l'opinion soutenue par M. de Saulcy, que la plus ancienne de ces monnaies daterait d'avant la transformation de la Judée en province romaine sous le gouvernement d'un procurateur. Mais cette hypothèse est arbitraire et peu probable, puisque la date la plus ancienne inscrite sur ces monnaies, se rapportant à une des années d'Auguste, est 41. On pourrait plutôt penser aux *anni Augustorum* ou aux *anni Augusti* qui selon Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, cap. xxi.; cf. ma *Chronologie romaine*, p. 266) commencent au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 727 de Rome [B.C. 27], et par conséquent l'année 41 correspondrait à l'an 767 de Rome, 14 après J.-C., c'est-à-dire à l'année de la mort d'Auguste. Le nombre le plus bas, qui jusqu'à présent soit certain, est 36=9 après J.-C.; pourtant aussi les nombres 33, 34, 35 peuvent être exacts, mais il n'en est pas de même des dates  $\Lambda$  et  $\Lambda\Lambda$ ."

In spite of this opinion, which was immediately acceded to by the late Dr. Levy and by myself, M. de

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the divisional numbers of the selected pieces, and again he omits my name. (3.) My papers on the Blacas collection are again mentioned (vol. iv. p. 5, note 1), and my name is still omitted. (4.) In the bibliographical list of authors and works referred to throughout the work (p. cxiii.), he not only omits my name from its proper alphabetical position in the list, but in mentioning the new series of the Numismatic Chronicle (p. cli.) says:—"La nouvelle série fut commencée par MM. Vaux et John Evans qui se sont adjoint successivement plusieurs autres collaborateurs." My name may be found on the title-page of the first volume of the new series, and on that for seven succeeding years. The omission in the places above quoted can hardly be excused by inadvertence.

Saulcy, in his observations on my work in 1864, wrote:<sup>33</sup>—  
 “Quant aux monnaies du règne d’Auguste et aux dates qu’elles portent, je me rangerai très-volontiers à l’opinion de M. Mommsen qui y voit la notation des années des Augustes, au lieu des années de l’ère Actiaque, aussitôt que j’aurai pu constater l’existence des monnaies de cette classe, munie des dates  $\Lambda\Gamma$  et  $\Lambda E$ . J’ai fait prier par un ami commun le Rév. Reichardt de me gratifier de deux bonnes empreintes des pièces qu’il possède et qui portent ces deux dates, que j’ai suspectées jadis. Je les attends toujours; mais dès que je les aurai constatées, je m’empresserai de faire amende honorable sur ce point.”<sup>34</sup>

Eight years later M. de Saulcy, not, I suppose, having been favoured by M. Reichardt with impressions of the coins in question, still maintained his theory about the “Actian era” in a paper dated 1872,<sup>35</sup> in which he states:—“Les dates des monnaies frappées pour Auguste par les procurateurs de Judée sont:  $L. \Lambda S$  (l’an xxxvi.),  $L. \Lambda \Theta$  (l’an xxxix.),  $L. M$  (l’an xl.) et enfin  $L. MA$  (l’an xli.); je n’en connais pas d’autre.”

Two years later, in 1874, M. de Saulcy publishes in his new work<sup>36</sup> a specimen of the coin with the date  $L. \Lambda\Gamma$ , and adds:—“M. Mommsen a très-bien établi qu’au lieu de l’ère Actiaque, c’est l’ère des Augustes dont il faut reconnaître l’emploi sur les monnaies frappées par les procurateurs à Jérusalem.”

It is very certain that the procuratorial coins coined during the reign of Augustus were struck on the era of

<sup>33</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, p. 24 of *tirage à part*.

<sup>34</sup> See my note 62 in § II. Why would not De Saulcy believe in the coi with date  $L. \Lambda\Gamma$ , which I published from the Wigan collection (“Hist. of Jew. Coinage,” p. 136, No. 1; Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, p. 208).

<sup>35</sup> Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num., 1869, vol. iii. p. 255.

<sup>36</sup> “Num. de la Terre-Sainte,” pp. 70, 71.

the "anni Augusti," and *not* on that of Actium, and this being established, I will now pass on to the description of the coins.

REIGN OF AUGUSTUS FROM THE EXPULSION OF ARCHELAUS.  
A.D. 6—A.D. 14.

COPONIUS, FIRST PROCURATOR.

A.D. 6—A.D.  $\frac{9}{10}$ .

A.D. 6—7.

1. *Obv.*—**KAICAPOC**. An ear of corn.

*Rev.*—A palm-tree, from which hang bunches of dates.  
In field, to right and left, **L. ΛΓ** (year 38).

M. de Saulcy having, as I have above shown, at last consented to believe that a coin with this date really exists, states<sup>37</sup> that he is only acquainted with two examples of this rare piece, one in the French Cabinet des Médailles,<sup>38</sup> the other which was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Wigan, and which was so published by myself.<sup>39</sup> But Mr. Reichardt has asserted<sup>40</sup> that he also possesses a specimen of this coin.

MARCUS AMBIVIVUS, SECOND PROCURATOR.

A.D.  $\frac{9}{10}$  — A.D.  $\frac{12}{13}$ .

A.D. 9—10.

2. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—Same type as No. 1. In field to right and left

<sup>37</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 71.

<sup>38</sup> Rev. Num., 1853, Pl. XI. fig. 3, and p. 193 *note*. In this paper De Saulcy wrote that the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris contained a specimen on which it might be fancied that one could read **L. ΛΓ**, but owing to the bad preservation of the piece it was doubtful if this reading could be received. The engraving however clearly shows **ΛΓ**.

<sup>39</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 274. Mr. Reichardt further states that he possesses a coin with the date **ΛΕ** (35) = A.D. 8—9.

**L. AS** (year 36). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 138, Pl. VIII. No. 1; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 2; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 72, Pl. III. No. 1.)

This coin may have been issued by Coponius, who was removed at the latest at the commencement of A.D. 10.

ANNIUS RUFUS, THIRD PROCURATOR.

A.D.  $\frac{12}{18}$  — A.D.  $\frac{14}{15}$ .

A.D. 12—13.

3. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—Same type as No. 1. In field, to right and left,

**L. AΘ** (year 39). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 139, Pl. VIII. No. 2; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 3; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 72, Pl. III. No. 2.)

This coin may have been issued by Marcus Ambivius, who was removed at the end of A.D. 12.

A.D. 13—14.

4. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—Same type as No. 1. In field, to right and left,

**L. M** (year 40). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 139, Pl. VIII. No. 3; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 136, No. 4; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 72, Pl. III. No. 3.)

A.D. 14—15.

5. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 1.

*Rev.*—Same type as No. 1. In field, to right and left,

**L. MA** (year 41). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 139, Pl. VIII. No. 4; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 137, No. 5; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 72, Pl. III. No. 4.)

These two coins were undoubtedly struck by Annus Rufus, who was superseded immediately on the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14.

## REIGN OF TIBERIUS.

A.D. 14—A.D. 37.

Augustus died the 19th of August, A.D. 14,<sup>41</sup> and the “Anni Augusti,” which we have seen were computed from January the 1st, B.C. 27, ceased in the forty-first year,—the latest date of which we possess procuratorial coins struck during the reign of this emperor.

The new coins issued under Tiberius (as far as at present known) bear dates from 1 to 18 (L. A to L. IH), i.e. from A.D. 14—15 to A.D. 31—32.

M. de Saulcy, speaking of these coins, says:<sup>42</sup>—“Auguste est mort le 10 août [*read* 19], 14 de J.-C., et Tibère a compté son règne à partir de ce même jour; a-t-il à commencé sa deuxième année le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier suivant? nous n'en savons rien.”

It is, however, almost certain that the years of Tiberius were computed from the 19th of August (xiv. *Kal. Sept.*), A.D. 14, after the death of Augustus, and his tribunitian years from June 27th (v. *Kal. Jul.*), A.D. 4, the year of his adoption.<sup>43</sup> His second year would, therefore, com-

<sup>41</sup> XIV. *Kal. Sept.* (Suet., “Aug.” 100). De Saulcy (“Num. de la Terre-Sainte,” pp. 69, 73) says “10 août,” I know not on what authority. This error is frequently repeated.

<sup>42</sup> “Num. de la Terre-Sainte,” p. 73.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Lewin, “Fasti Sacri,” p. liii. and p. 143, No. 994. Dr. Thomson (Smith’s “Dict. of the Bible,” s.v. Jesus Christ, vol. i. p. 1074) says, “The rule of Tiberius may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign after the death of Augustus, A.U.C. 767 [A.D. 14], or from his joint government with Augustus, i.e. from the beginning of A.U.C. 765 [A.D. 12]. In the latter case the fifteenth year of Tiberius [Luke iii. 1] would correspond with A.U.C. 779 [A.D. 26],” whilst the Rev. H. Browne (Kitto’s “Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.” s.v. Chronology, vol. i. p. 515) states, “St. Luke’s date ‘fifteenth of Tiberius’ (iii. 1)

mence on the 19th of August, A.D. 15, and Valerius Gratus, as we have seen, was sent by Tiberius as procurator in A.D. 15.

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interpreted by the constant rule of the Imperial annals (and also of the Canon), denotes the year beginning August, A.D. 28 and ending in the same month of A.D. 29. Referred to the current consular year, it may mean either A.D. 28 or 29. Taken in the Jewish sense it may be the year beginning either 1 Nisan or 1 Tisri A.D. 28, or even 1 Tisri A.D. 27. The hypothesis of a dating of the years of Tiberius from an epoch earlier by three years than the death of Augustus, which, from the sixteenth century downward, has found favour with many learned men, will not bear examination; it is unknown to the early ecclesiastical writers, and nowhere in histories, on monuments, or coins, is a trace of any such epoch of Tiberius to be met with."

With respect to Dr. Thomson's theory, one which has been adopted by Norisius, Pagi, Usher, Lardner, Hales, Greswell, and others, Clinton (F. R., vol. ii. p. 237) writes, "they have no other reason for selecting that particular year [A.U.C. 765 = A.D. 12] as the epoch than because it is adapted to their own dates for the ministry of the Baptist."

With reference to the Rev. H. Browne's remark about *coins*, it appears that certain coins of Tiberius, struck at Antioch, with the legend **ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ** and dating from A.D. 12—14, have been described by Morell, Vaillant, and other numismatists, but their authenticity has been doubted by Eckhel (vol. iii. p. 277), and there are existing coins of Tiberius, struck at Alexandria, with dates reckoned earlier than A.D. 14, though *not two years earlier*, but from A.U.C. 757 = A.D. 4, when Augustus adopted him as his son (Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 50; Vell., ii. 103; Dion. Cass., lv. 13; Suet., "Tib." 15). This does not, however, prove that the same course was pursued at Rome.

I may add that Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. liii.; cf. p. 154, No. 1044) considers "that the reign of Tiberius as beginning from 19th August, A.D. 14, was as well known a date in the time of Luke as the reign of Queen Victoria in our own day, and that no single case has ever been or can be produced in which the years of Tiberius were reckoned in any other manner." Dr. Farrar, however, is of opinion ("Life of Christ," vol. ii. p. 450) "that St. Luke dates the year of the reign of Tiberius from his association with Augustus as joint emperor in A.U.C. 765 (A.D. 12)."

VALERIUS GRATUS, FOURTH PROCURATOR.

25  
A.D. 15—A.D. 26.

1st year, A.D. 14—15.

1. *Obv.*—**IOYA.—CEB.** (?) in two lines within a wreath.

*Rev.*—Two cornua-copiae, between them a poppy-head (?);  
above, **L. A** (year 1). (?)

This coin was at one time ascribed by De Saulcy<sup>44</sup> to Judas Aristobulus, but the attribution was objected to by Cavedoni,<sup>45</sup> who considered that it should be attributed to Julia Augusta.<sup>46</sup> De Saulcy<sup>47</sup> would not accept this suggestion, and said: "Je l'ai mal lue, j'en conviens sans difficulté; mais M. Cavedoni l'a encore plus mal classée." Now (1874) De Saulcy writes:<sup>48</sup> "M. Cavedoni a protesté contre cette lecture, et il a eu parfaitement raison."

The piece above described appears now to be in the British Museum, and I presume that it is from a careful examination of the piece itself that De Saulcy has read the date **L. A**. I may remark that he<sup>49</sup> describes the obverse legend as **IOYA.—CEB.** (?), whilst the engraving<sup>50</sup> shows the legend as **IOYA—IAC** in two lines. The date **L. A** is also clearly given. It is, however,

<sup>44</sup> Num. Jud., pp. 102, 103, Pl. IV. No. 1. De Saulcy here described the legend on the obverse as **IOYΔA—BAΣIA.** (?) —**A** (?) Mr. Poole (Art. *Money* in Dr. Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 413), as I have elsewhere stated ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 150, note 3), adopted De Saulcy's opinion only as a "probable attribution" and describes it under "copper coins with Greek inscriptions, 'Judah the King' and **A** for Antigonus (?)."

<sup>45</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. ii. pp. 48, 50.

<sup>46</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 150. This Julia is the mother of Tiberius and *not* the wife.

<sup>47</sup> Rev. Num., 1857, p. 297.

<sup>48</sup> "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 73.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. III. No. 5.



uncertain how the coin may be truly described, as it is in a very imperfect state of preservation. The most that can be seen on the obverse is, **IOYI** within a wreath, and on the reverse **L. A** (*very doubtful*).

It is possible that this coin may have been struck by Annius Rufus, who was still in office on the 19th of August, A.D. 14, and Valerius Gratus did not arrive till A.D. 15. I may add that it would be desirable to find a more perfect specimen of this piece.

2nd year, A.D. 15—16.

2. *Obv.*—**KAI—CAP** in two lines within a laurel wreath.

*Rev.*—Two cornua-copiae, between which **L. B** (year 2); above **TIB.** (Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.*, vol. i. p. 66; vol. ii. p. 48, from the Ducal Museum at Parma; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 142, No. 3; De Sauley, "*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 73, Pl. III. No. 6. Specimens also exist in the cabinets of the Rev. Churchill Babington and the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.)

3. *Obv.*—**IOY—AIA** in two lines within a wreath.

*Rev.*—Ear of corn; in field, to right and left, **L. B** (year 2). (De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, p. 141, Pl. VIII. No. 7; Madden, "*History of Jew. Coinage*," p. 142, No. 2; De Sauley, "*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 73, Pl. III. No. 7.)

3rd year, A.D. 16—17.

4. *Obv.*—**KAI—CAP** in two lines within a wreath.

*Rev.*—**TIBEPIOY** above two cornua-copiae, between which a caduceus; in field, to right and left, **L. Γ** (year 3). (De Sauley, "*Bull. Arch. del'Athen. Franç.*," 1855, pp. 5, 6; Reichardt, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. ii. p. 274; Babington, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. ii. p. 67, Pl. II. No. 6; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 143, No. 5; De Sauley, "*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 73, Pl. III. No. 8. Similar coins in the British Museum and Wigan collection read **TIBEIPOC.**)

5. *Obv.*—**KAI—CAP** in two lines within a wreath.

*Rev.*—A triple lily; in field, to right and left, **L. Γ** (year 8). (De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 74, Pl. III. No. 9. This variety was unknown till published by De Sauley.)

6. *Obv.*—**IOY—ΛΙΑ** in two lines within a wreath.

*Rev.*—Same type and date as No. 5. (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 142, Pl. VIII. No. 8; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 142, No. 4; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 74, Pl. III. No. 10.)

4th year, A.D. 17—18.

7. *Obv.*—**TIBEPIOY** above a vine-leaf.

*Rev.*—**KAICAP** above a diota; in field, to right and left, **L. Δ** (year 4). (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 145, No. 8; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 74, Pl. III. No. 11.)

8. *Obv.*—**IOYΛΙΑ** above a vine-leaf.

*Rev.*—Diota; in field, to right and left, **L. Δ** (year 4). (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 144, No. 7; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 74, Pl. III. No. 12, a very imperfect engraving.)

Eckhel<sup>51</sup> and Cavedoni<sup>52</sup> describe the second of these coins (No. 8) with the date **L. A** (year 1). De Sauley<sup>53</sup> gave them both (Nos. 7 and 8) to the "year 1;" but a few years later he corrected their description.<sup>54</sup>

Cavedoni<sup>55</sup> has given similar pieces to No. 8, with the dates **L. A** and **L. Δ**, and the legend **IOYΛΙΑ** written within a wreath. He states<sup>56</sup> that he has taken their

<sup>51</sup> Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 498.

<sup>52</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> Num. Jud., pp. 140, 141, Pl. VIII. Nos. 5, 6.

<sup>54</sup> "Bull. Arch. de l'Athénæum Français," Jan. 1855, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>56</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. ii. p. 47 note.

description from Mionnet;<sup>57</sup> but I have shown<sup>58</sup> that these coins are *not* described by Mionnet as having the name **IOYΛIA** written *within a wreath*, but *above a vine-leaf*.

The date **L. Δ** (year 4) is no doubt the correct one for these coins. The piece ascribed to Augustus by Cavedoni,<sup>59</sup> with similar types and the date **L. Λ** (year 30), should certainly be read **L. Δ**, and should be ascribed to Tiberius.<sup>60</sup>

9. *Obv.*—**TIB—KAI—CAP** in three lines within a wreath.

*Rev.*—**IOY—ΛIA**. A palm. In field, to right and left, **L. Δ** (year 4). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 143, Pl. VIII. No. 3 [*read* 9]; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 144, No. 6. The name **IOY—ΛIA** is wanting in these descriptions. Perfect examples exist in De Sauley's collection and in the British Museum. De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 75, Pl. IV. No. 1. Examples sometimes have the legend retrograde, Pl. IV. No. 2.)

5th year, A.D. 18—19.

10. Same obverse and reverse as No. 9. Date **L. Ε** (year 5). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 143, Pl. VIII. No. 10; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 146, No. 10; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 75, Pl. IV. No. 3. The piece published by Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 497, and Cavedoni, Bibl. Num., vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 49, with the legend **IOYΛIA CE** is probably misread, and the letters **CE**, should be **L. Ε**. Cf. De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 142; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 145, No. 9.)

6th year, A.D. 19—20.

Eckhel<sup>61</sup> and Cavedoni<sup>62</sup> have both described a piece similar to the type employed in the 3rd year

<sup>57</sup> Suppl., vol. viii. p. 377, Nos. 67, 68.

<sup>58</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 339.

<sup>59</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 39.

<sup>60</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 139.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*

(see No. 6) with the date **L. S** (year 6). De Sauley<sup>63</sup> has always doubted the reading, and is convinced that the date should be **L. Γ** (year 8). I am of his opinion.<sup>64</sup>

7th year, A.D. 20—21, to 10th year, A.D. 23—24.

No coins of these years have been at present discovered.

11th year, A.D. 24—25.

11. Same obverse and reverse as No. 9. Date **L. IA** (year 11). (De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, p. 144, Pl. VIII. No. 11; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 146, No. 12; De Sauley, "*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 75, Pl. IV. No. 4. A piece in the late Mr. Wigan's cabinet has the date **L. AI**.)

De Sauley attributes this coin to Pontius Pilate. He says: "Après un intervalle de six ans, nous voyons reparaître une monnaie à Jérusalem. On ne peut guère se rendre compte de cette réapparition qu'en admettant l'arrivée en Judée d'un nouveau procurateur, désireux de rendre hommage à l'empereur régnant. Or Valerius Gratus fut remplacé par Pontius Pilatus en l'an 26 de J.-C., dont la première moitié appartient à l'an 11 de Tibère."

It is quite true, as De Sauley states, that Pontius Pilate succeeded Valerius Gratus in A.D. 26; but the first portion of the eleventh year of Tiberius does *not*, however, happen to fall in this year, but in the year A.D. 24. Moreover, though no coins have as yet been discovered of the years "6" to "10," there is no reason why they should not exist. Eckhel<sup>65</sup> and Cavedoni<sup>66</sup> have both published pieces of similar type to No. 9, with the date **L. O**.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Num. Jud.*, p. 142; "*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 75.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. "*Hist. of Jewish Coinage*," p. 146, No. 11.

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> See my remarks ("*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 147, note 8)

This coin, therefore, should be attributed to Valerius Gratus.

12th year, A.D. 25—26 to 15th year, A.D. 28—29.

No coins of these years at present discovered.

PONTIUS PILATE, FIFTH PROCURATOR.

85  
A.D. 26 — A.D. 36.

16th year, A.D. 29—30.

12. *Obv.*—**TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC L. IS** (year 16).  
Simpulum.

*Rev.*—**IOYΛIA KAICAPOC**. Three ears of corn bound together. (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 144, Pl. IX. Nos. 1, 2; Madden, "Hist. of Jewish Coinage, p. 147, No. 13; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 75, Pl. IV. No. 5. The example given by De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 144, Pl. IX. No. 3; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 147, with date **L. S**, should doubtless read **L. IS**. De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 75.)

Eckhel<sup>68</sup> and Cavedoni<sup>69</sup> have given coins of the same types, with the dates **L. H** and **L. IA**. They probably do not really exist.<sup>70</sup>

13. *Obv.*—**TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC**. Lituus.

*Rev.*—**L. IS** (year 16) within a wreath. (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 145, Pl. IX. No. 5; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 149, No. 14; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 76, Pl. IV. No. 6.)

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on the dates cited by Eckhel and Cavedoni. Mr. Lewin ("Fasti Sacri," p. 168) gives from Eckhel a coin with the date **L. Z**, but Eckhel does not describe a coin with this date.

<sup>68</sup> Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 498.

<sup>69</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. ii. p. 49.

<sup>70</sup> See my note in "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 147, note 3.

17th year, A.D. 30—31.

14. Same obverse and reverse as No. 13, excepting that the date is **L. IZ** (year 17). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 146, Pl. IX. No. 6; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 149, No. 15; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 76, Pl. IV. No. 7.)

18th year, A.D. 31—32.

15. Same obverse and reverse as No. 13, excepting that the date is **L. IH** (year 18). (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 146, Pl. IX. Nos. 4 and 7; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 149, No. 16; De Sauley, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 76, Pl. IV. No. 8.)

The new type of the last three coins was evidently adopted by Pontius Pilate after the death of Julia, the mother of Tiberius,<sup>71</sup> in A.D. 29, and may have been suggested by the strong passion Tiberius is known to have had for augurs and astrologers.<sup>72</sup>

#### MARCELLUS, SIXTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 36 — A.D. 37.

There are no coins at present known struck by Marcellus.

#### REIGN OF CAIUS (CALIGULA).

A.D. 37—A.D. 41.

#### MARULLUS, SEVENTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 37—A.D. 41.

There are no coins at present known struck by Marullus. In all probability none were ever issued, as in April, A.D. 37, Agrippa I. received from Caligula the tetrarchy of Philip II., and in A.D. 40 Galilee and Peræa, and struck coins in his own name as king.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 148, 149.

<sup>72</sup> Jos., "Antiq." xviii. 6, 9; Suet., "Tib." 69.

<sup>73</sup> See *ante*, § III., F. Herod Agrippa I.

## REIGN OF CLAUDIUS.

A.D. 41—A.D. 54.

CUSPIUS FADUS, EIGHTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 44—A.D. 46.

Agrippa I. reigned till the summer of A.D. 44, when he died, and his son being considered too young to undertake the government, Cuspius Fadus was appointed procurator. No coins have, however, been discovered that could have been issued during his procuratorship.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, NINTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 46—A.D. 48.

No coins at present discovered.

VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, TENTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 48—A.D. 52.

No coins at present discovered.

CLAUDIUS OR ANTONIUS FELIX, ELEVENTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 52—A.D. 60.

Felix, as we have seen, was appointed procurator about A.D. 52, in the twelfth year of Claudius,<sup>74</sup> but no coins have been found of this year.

Those discovered are of the thirteenth and following years.

13th year, A.D. 53—54.

1. *Obv.*— . . . . . KAICAP ΓΕ . . . Two palm branches laid crosswise; below Λ. ΙΓ (year 13).

*Rev.*— . . ΛΙΑ ΑΓ—ΡΙΠΠΙ—ΝΑ in four lines within a wreath. (De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.*, p. 149, Pl. IX. No. 9; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 151, No. 1; De Saulcy, "*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 76.)

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<sup>74</sup>De Saulcy ("*Num. de la Terre-Sainte*," p. 76) gives the date of Felix's succession as "53 de J.-C. (13<sup>e</sup> de Claude);" also on p. 71; but on p. 70 he states that Felix was procurator in "52 de J.-C."

This coin is very rare, and is the only example that M. de Saulcy has ever seen. It is (or was) in the Wigan collection.

14th year, A.D. 54—55.

2. *Obv.*—**ΤΙ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜ.** Two palm branches laid crosswise; below **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14).

*Rev.*—**ΙΟΥ—ΛΙΑ ΑΓ—ΡΙΠΠΙ—ΝΑ** in four lines within a wreath. (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 149, Pl. IX. No. 10; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 152, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 76, Pl. IV. No. 9.)

These two coins are probably the only ones which represent the family name of Agrippina—*Julia*. Cavedoni<sup>75</sup> quotes an inscription of Ilium from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*,<sup>76</sup> which is dedicated **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗΣ** by Claudius and his sons, the Cæsars Nero and Britannicus, probably in the year A.D. 53 or 54.

*Nero and Britannicus Cæsars.*

14th year, A.D. 54—55.

*Obv.*—**ΝΕΡΩ. ΚΛΑΥ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ** written round two shields and two small lances placed crosswise.

*Rev.*—Palm-tree; above, **ΒΡΙΤ.**; below, **ΚΑΙ**; to right and left, **Λ. ΙΔ** (year 14). (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 150, Pl. IX. No. 11; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 152; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 77, Pl. IV. No. 10. Specimens of this coin with date **Λ. ΙΑ** (year 11) are given by Eckhel (Doct. Num. Vet., vol. iii. p. 498, vol. vi. p. 254), and Cavedoni (Bibl. Num., vol. i. p. 66; vol. ii. p. 52), but have been probably misread.)

<sup>75</sup> Bibl. Num., vol. ii. p. 52 note.

<sup>76</sup> No. 3610. Quoted incorrectly by me in "History of Jewish Coinage," p. 152, note 9) from "Gruter" (Cavedoni, "Principali Questioni," &c., in vol. v. series ii. of the *Opuscoli Religiosi*, &c., Modena, p. 7 of *tirage à part*).



## REIGN OF NERO.

A.D. 54 — A.D. 68.

CLAUDIUS OR ANTONIUS FELIX, ELEVENTH PROCURATOR (*continued*).

5th year, A.D. 58—59.

*Obv.*—**L. € KAICAPOC.** Palm.

*Rev.*—**NEP—ΩNO—C** in three lines within a wreath.  
 (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 150, Pl. IX. No. 12;  
 Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 153; De  
 Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 77, Pl.  
 IV. No. 11. Varieties of this coin read **NEPO-**  
**NOC** [sometimes retrograde] and **NEPΩN**  
 (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., Pl. IX. Nos. 13, 14;  
 "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," Pl. IV. Nos. 12,  
 13, 14.)

This coin M. de Saulcy has assigned to Porcius Festus. He says: "Au commencement de l'an 5 de Néron, Claudius Félix était encore procurateur de Judée. Son successeur fut Tiberius Alexander, qui le remplaça en 56. Mais la première année de Néron, commencée le 13 octobre 54 ne finit que le 13 octobre 55.

La 2 <sup>e</sup>	compte du 13 octobre 55	au 13 octobre 56.		
La 3 <sup>e</sup>	"	"	56	" 57.
La 4 <sup>e</sup>	"	"	57	" 58.
La 5 <sup>e</sup>	"	"	58	" 59.
La 6 <sup>e</sup>	"	"	59	" 60.

C'est en 60 de J.-C. que Porcius Festus a remplacé Claudius Felix; c'est donc Porcius Festus qui, à son arrivée à Jérusalem, a fait frapper la monnaie de Néron que nous venons de décrire."

But, even according to De Saulcy's own showing, the "fifth year" of Nero was current between the 13th of October, A.D. 58, and the 13th of October, A.D. 59. Why then does he assign a coin bearing the date "year 5" to A.D. 60, which is "year 6?" I cannot say.

In any case the coin was issued in A.D. 58—59, and

these years were current during the procuratorship of Felix. (See our TABLE.)

What, too, does De Saulcy mean by "son successeur [the successor of Felix] fut Tiberius Alexander, qui le remplaça en 56 ?" Ten lines lower he speaks of Tiberius Alexander as "prédécesseur" of Felix. There is a confusion running through the whole of the remarks of De Saulcy on this coin.

PORCIUS FESTUS, TWELFTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 60—A.D. 61.

7th year, A.D. 60—61, to 8th year, A.D. 61—62.

No coins of these years at present discovered.

ALBINUS, THIRTEENTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 62—A.D. 64.

9th year, A.D. 62—63, to 10th year, A.D. 63—64.

No coins of these years at present discovered.

GESSIUS FLORUS, FOURTEENTH PROCURATOR.

A.D. 64—A.D. 66.

11th year, A.D. 64—65, to 12th year, A.D. 65—66.

No coins of these years at present discovered.

A TABLE is appended to illustrate the coinage of the procurators of Judæa.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINS OF THE PROCURATORS OF JUDEA.

"Anni Augusti," era commencing 1 Jan. B.C. 27.	Dates on Coins of Procurators.	Actual Years of Procurators.	Remarks.
May, A.D. 6	L. AΓ	1	Archelaus banished. Judæa becomes a Roman province.
7—33		2	
8—34	L. AΕ	3	
9—35	L. AϚ	1	Ambivius
10—36		2	
11—37		3	
12—38	L. AΘ	1	Rufus
13—39	L. M	2	
14—40	L. MA	3	
15—41			19th August, A.D. 14, death of Augustus. End of "Anni Augusti." Accession of Tiberius.
A.D.			
14	L. A	1	19th August, A.D. 14. Rufus still in office. Valerius Gratus arrives in A.D. 15.
15—1st year	L. B	2	
16—2nd "	L. Γ	3	
17—3rd "	L. Δ	4	
18—4th "	L. Ε	5	
19—5th "	L. Ϛ	6	
20—6th "		7	
21—7th "		8	
22—8th "		9	
23—9th "		10	
24—10th "	L. IA	11	Gratus deposed. Pontius Pilate appointed towards the end of A.D. 26.
25—11th "		1	
26—12th "		2	
27—13th "		3	
28—14th "		4	
29—15th "	L. IϚ	5	
30—16th "	L. IZ.	6	
31—17th "	L. IH.	7	
32—18th "		8	
33—19th "		9	
34—20th "		10	Deposal of Pilate. Marcellus appointed. March 16th, A.D. 37, death of Tiberius.
35—21st "		1	
36—22nd "			Caligula. Marullus procurator.
37—23rd "			
37			
37—1st year			
38—2nd "		1	Marullus
39—3rd "		2	
40—4th "		3	
41—5th "		4	
			Jan. 24th, A.D. 41, Caligula killed. Claudius began to reign the next day. Marullus recalled.

A.D.	Dates on Coins of Procurators.	Actual Years of Procurators.	Remarks.
Jan. 25th 41			Agrippa I., King of Judæa.
42—1st year			
43—2nd "			
44—3rd "			Death of Agrippa I. in summer of A.D. 44.
44 } 4th "		1 } Cuspius Fadus	Cuspius Fadus appointed procurator.
45 } 5th "		2 }	
46—6th "		1 } Tib. Alexander	Tiberius Alexander procurator.
47—7th "		2 }	
48—8th "		1 }	Death of Herod, King of Chalcis. Ventidius Cumanus procurator. Agrippa II. succeeds Herod.
49—9th "		2 }	
50—10th "		3 }	
51—11th "		4 }	
52—12th "		1 }	Felix procurator.
53—13th "	L. II	2 }	
54—14th year of Claudius.	L. IA	3 }	Death of Claudius, 13th Oct., A.D. 54. Nero.
54 } 1st year of Nero.			
55			
55—2nd year			
56—3rd "		4 }	
57—4th "		5 }	
58—5th "		6 }	
59—6th "		7 }	
60—7th "		8 }	
61—8th "		1 }	Festus procurator.
62—9th "		2 }	
63—10th "		1 }	Albinus procurator.
64—11th "		2 }	
65—12th "		1 }	Gessius Florus procurator.
66		2 }	17th year of Agrippa II. Jewish war commences.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

(To be continued.)

## XIV.

### OFFA, KING OF MERCIA.

A SILVER penny of Offa was lately found near Wellingborough, in the county of Northampton, which presents several points of interest. In type the obverse resembles those pennies of his which are figured in Ruding, vol. iii. Plate IV., Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, and on Plate V., Nos. 23, 24; of these most nearly No. 24, as far as one can determine by the engraving of an imperfect coin. But the reverse differs from all these, and indeed, as far as I know, from all others, as regards the moneyer; for the name DEIMVND appears not to have been known hitherto. And further there is a difference, which amounts to a slight variation of type; without any serious attempt at ornament, the word Deimund is divided by three parallel lines, running across the entire field, the central one of which is beaded; this constitutes a new variety, though not a very marked one. I would only add that the letters of the name, in three instances, have been sized so as to adjust themselves to the little space at the die-sinker's disposal, as may be likewise observed in No. 20 of Ruding's Plate IV.

If the superior workmanship, for which certain types of King Offa's money are remarkable, may be taken as an indication of date, then the absence of such workmanship on this would cause it to be assigned to the early period,—at all events, to one before the time when Italian art is supposed to have been called into play in the productions of Offa's mint. Does this supposition, however, rest on an historical basis of any real value? Because, if not, I think we should do well to account for the acknowledged excellence of these Anglo-Saxon coins in some other way; or else, with wise reticence, to leave it as a fact unaccounted for.

Having ventured to raise this question, I crave the attention of members of the Society, while I state the reasons which have influenced me in thus daring to dispute the tradition of our numismatic fathers. The commonly received opinion may best be stated in the words of others; and without citing writers of less note, I will quote two of weight unquestioned. Hawkins says, "The arrangement and the ornaments of the reverses (of Offa's coins) are extremely varied, and many of them very elegant; and, in the representation of the king's head, there is an attempt at portraiture, and a tolerable effort, by variations of relief, to produce light and shade, and some appearance of fleshiness. This singularity of his coins is usually attributed to his having himself visited Rome, and having probably brought from thence Italian artists." It may be inferred, I think, from these words that Hawkins himself had not looked into the facts. Again, Ruding gives us his explanation thus:<sup>2</sup>—"The

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<sup>1</sup> "The Silver Coins of England," p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain," vol. i. p. 118.

coins of Offa present some of the most elegant specimens of the art of coinage which are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon series. As he was in Rome in the pontificate of Adrian I., it is probable that he brought from thence Italian artists, to whose skill the improvement of his money is to be imputed. If the account be correct, that he visited Rome only about two years before his death, it should seem that these coins should have been placed the last among the representations of his money." "Immediately after his death the Italian artists must have ceased to work, as the money resumed its usual barbarous appearance on the accession of his son Egberht."

I shall not be considered to have encumbered the case if I now add the careful words of the late Mr. Lindsay, in his work on "The Coinage of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy," p. 26: "Several of our most distinguished numismatists are of opinion that the greater part of Offa's coins, particularly those with his bust, were executed by workmen whom he brought with him on his return from Italy, and several of the types copied from contemporary ones of that country." . . . "Ruding supposes, from the inferiority of workmanship which the coins of his successor exhibit, that on the death of Offa his Italian artist ceased to work; but the work of the moneyers, Ciolhard, Dud, Esba, and Lulla, is some of the very best which the coins of Offa exhibit; and these are four out of the six names which occur on the coins of Coenwulf; it may be observed, also, that almost all the names of Offa's moneyers appear more like Saxon than Italian names; and indeed a great number of them occur on the coins of other Anglo-Saxon princes, and altogether it is far more probable that the great encouragement given by Offa, and the want of it by

his successor, was the principal cause of the great inferiority of the coins of the latter.”

Clearly, if Mr. Lindsay allowed the opinion at all, he allowed it with considerable degree of doubt.

In that which I now propose to submit to the Society I shall be found to carry his doubt further, and so far, as to leave myself nothing but disbelief in the story of King Offa's alleged journey to Rome, the presumed cause of his employment of Italian workmen in the mint. It is true that the intercourse between this country and Italy in those days was such that the supposition as to his foreign artists may still remain;<sup>3</sup> but what will it be worth if Offa's journey to Rome can be with good reason disbelieved, for it is that which commonly has given colour to the supposition? Antecedently, there was nothing to forbid the thought. Ina and other royalties had already visited Rome. Nay, it might be said that to make that journey was then the fashion of the age; for then, as in later times, sprang up a passion for pilgrimage. Bede so informs us<sup>4</sup> when, speaking of King Ina's going there, he says: “The same thing about the same time was done through the zeal of many of the English nation—noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women.” But the evidence of Offa's visit to Rome is so untrustworthy, that if our numismatists still affect to see the skill of Italy expressed in the utterances of his mint, I presume to think they must see it without the aid to sight which has been supplied by this myth.

It is one which is found only twice in early writers,—in that life of the Mercian Offa which is printed, with other biographies, at the end of Watt's edition of Matthew

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<sup>3</sup> See note in Ruding, vol. i. p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. viii. book v.



Paris;<sup>5</sup> and also it is given in Roger of Wendover's Chronicle. No one can read the two accounts without suspecting that we do not possess in them two independent sources of testimony; just as no one can read the "Flowers of History," and consider the writer's standpoint, without regarding his narrative about Offa with some degree of misgiving. His "Flowers of History" are some of them mythical. Is not this one also an artificial flower? We do not know much about Roger of Wendover himself, excepting that he was a monk of St. Albans Abbey—the abbey founded by King Offa, and that he died about 1237 A.D. To account for his having inserted in the History this tale of Offa's pilgrimage to Rome, we have but to recollect how, in the estimation of the fraternity to which Roger belonged, such a pilgrimage would probably become a makeweight to men's minds for the scandal occasioned by Offa's treachery towards Ethelbert; or else, without thus impugning Roger's good faith as a narrator, we have but to suppose the myth was at first a mistake, which afterwards throve in the hotbed of an active imagination. There is a process known to gardeners called "budding." An incision is made in the

<sup>5</sup> Matthew Paris, "Historia Major," &c., &c.,  
 "Huic Editioni accesserunt Duorum Offarum  
 Merciorum Regum; et viginti trium  
 Abbatum S. Albani Vitæ.

Editore Willielmo Watts, S.T.D.  
 Londini, MDCLXXXIV."

The first Offa, whose life is written here, was the son of Wærmund, an ancestor of Offa, King of Mercia; and it seems to me, in the very title which heads it, to supply a clue to the mind of the writer of both histories:

"Incipit Historia de Offa Primo qui strenuitate  
 Sua sibi Angliæ maximam partem subegit, cui  
 Simillimus fuit secundus Offa."

bark of a rose-tree, and a bud taken from another rose is inserted in the bark; it is then tied round with wool, it grows, and the variety desired is thus propagated. On this occasion I conceive the writer of the "Flowers of History" may have simply budded a bud. I mean to say he may have taken a fact which did occur in the life of Offa, King of the East Saxons—a fact which was already recorded in his Chronicle—and inserted it in the life of that greater Offa whose greatness it was naturally his inclination to magnify. The journey Romewards of Offa, King of the East Saxons, is related briefly in the A. S. Chronicle;<sup>6</sup> at greater length it is told in Bede.<sup>7</sup> The journey of Offa, King of Mercia, is related in neither one or other, for Bede's history closed before the commencement of Offa's reign; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, while it records incidents of that important reign five times, has nothing at all to say about this journey to Rome; though if it occurred, it was an event little likely to have remained unnoted by the Chroniclers. Again, William of Malmesbury (1095—1143), "the most judicious and best-informed of the early writers of English history," knew nothing of the journey; and it was reserved for the monk, Roger of Wendover, a hundred years later still, to communicate its occurrence to his countrymen. Like the anonymous author of the "*Duorum Offarum Vitæ*," Roger, however, gives no authority for his statement, and it is read by us now unconnected with date, as it was then unsupported by authority! Lappenberg, when he was touching this statement, while admitting it to be highly questionable, says charitably: "The monk of St. Albans

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<sup>6</sup> Sub anno 709, A.D.

<sup>7</sup> Bede's Ecclesiastical History, chap. xix.

is perhaps more trustworthy than he has hitherto been considered. The inmate of a monastery founded by Offa, he has, no doubt, placed many actions of the founder in a different light from that in which others have regarded them; but he may have had the use of documents inaccessible to others. . . . He is not therefore to be altogether rejected, but in cases only when for particular reasons he is to be regarded with suspicion.”<sup>8</sup> Now, from a writer of great reputation like Lappenberg such a plea will be listened to respectfully; but other historians do not urge it; and it may be asked whether this particular case is not one which should be “regarded with suspicion?” “Gratitude to the founder of his abbey,” writes Dr. Lingard, when speaking of Ethelbert’s murder, “has induced the monk of St. Albans to transfer the whole guilt from the king to his consort Cynherida. By every other ancient writer he is represented as having sanctioned the foul deed; and, if it be true that he immediately annexed East Anglia to his own dominions, little doubt can be entertained that the man who reaped the advantage had directed the execution of the murder.”<sup>9</sup> Surely, if the motive of the monk, where Offa’s credit and discredit are concerned, may be suspected in one case, it may be in another. Under this feeling we observe Dr. Lingard omits all mention of the journey in the text of his history, and then explains his silence in a note: “I have not mentioned Offa’s pretended journey to Rome, for it could not have escaped the notice of every historian before the fabulous monk of St. Albans.” Sharon Turner participates in the Doctor’s

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<sup>8</sup> Lappenberg’s “History of England under the Anglo-Saxons,” vol. i. p. 236.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Lingard’s “History of England,” vol. i. p. 145.

incredulity. He too only refers to the story in a note as a tale that had been told, not as a fact which he himself believed to have occurred. I have hazarded the conjecture that, as regards this incident, these two Offas may have been, through some inadvertence, confounded together in the mind of the old chronicler. Its value as a conjecture will be increased if I can show that in a particular instance, though by whose hand we know not, the historical property of one king has been unaccountably transferred to the other. In the "Codex Diplomaticus"<sup>10</sup> there is the copy of a charter which was granted by Offa, King of the East Saxons, to the town of Worcester (704—9); and by some person unknown it has been long assigned to his namesake, so that now it always appears with this subscription at its foot:<sup>11</sup> "Ego, Offa Rex Merciorum, consentio et subscripsi." An interval of fifty years separated the two reigns—a period of time sufficient to create a change of usage, and from a change of usage, of which there is internal evidence, Kemble satisfied himself that it is impossible for this charter to belong to the period when the Mercian reigned. He called the attribution of it to him "*a grave error as to fact*," due to some monk; and he found that it pervades all the copies of the charter which we possess. I suppose that but for Mr. Kemble's close acquaintance with his subject (an acquaintance which enabled him without hesitation to detect a difference between this particular charter and the thirty-eight others properly assigned to the Mercian), it is a mistake which would not easily have been discovered. That the mistake existed gives at least a feather to wing

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<sup>10</sup> "Codex Diplomaticus." *Ævi Saxonici. Opera J. Kemble*, vol. i. p. 62, No. xxxviii.

<sup>11</sup> Preface to the "Codex Diplomaticus."

the arrow of my conjecture? It is possible for us, then, to take this lenient view of the case, and regard the monkish tale as originating in mistake—a fact mistaken and then expanded; and it is possible for us to hold it cheap, in a spirit like that which dictated Bishop Burnet's sarcasm:—to take no lenient view, but regarding its narration as altogether dishonest: “Most of these” (chronicles), urges the Bishop, “were written by men of weak judgments, who were more punctual in delivering fables and trifles than in opening observable transactions. Yet some of them were men of better understandings, and it is like were directed by their abbots, who, being lords of Parliament, understood affairs well; only, an invincible humour of lying, when it might raise the credit of their religion, or order, or house, runs through all their manuscripts.”<sup>12</sup> But which ever view we take, with the above-named facts before us, for numismatists to ascribe the superiority of Offa's money to any sojourn of his at Rome, seems to me impossible. Beyond this point I would leave the case untouched; but if I were pressed to explain how I would myself account for the artistic excellence of the coins in that king's reign, I should say that certain facts suggest the explanation. Offa himself was in advance of his age. That intercourse with the Continent which he promoted; his correspondence with Charlemagne; even his wish to learn to read (a high aspiration for those days)—point to one from whom, as a sovereign, we might expect a disposition to foster art; and art soon thrives when kings are kind to it. The mintmen of Offa may have had the money of

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<sup>12</sup> Bishop Burnet's “History of the Reformation,” vol. i. p. 417. London: 1820.

Italy for a model; they certainly had the king's favour as an incentive.<sup>13</sup> This is my own theory; it accords with that which Lindsay inclined to take; and, if it may be called a theory grounded on mere conjecture; I would reply that, in such a case, I had rather draw conclusions from a conjecture that is reasonable, than from a statement in the "Flowers of History," which will not bear the breath of critical investigation.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

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<sup>13</sup> What resemblance there may be between the coins of the two countries of the eighth century, or whether there be any at all, I do not pretend to say.

## XV.

### ART ON THE COINS OF OFFA.

At the last meeting of this Society Mr. Assheton Pownall read an interesting paper designed to upset the story of Offa's supposed journey to Rome; and those who enjoyed the pleasure of hearing this paper will, I think, agree with me that this point was conclusively established. The interest which belongs to these pennies of Offa—an interest which, as the course of this paper will show, attaches itself to more points than their artistic merit—is my excuse for again bringing the subject before the attention of the Society.

It will be my endeavour to-night to take up the chain of argument at the point where it was relinquished by Mr. Pownall. The effect of his researches was to dispose of Offa's supposed journey to Rome, and thus to withdraw all external support from the theory of the employment of Italian artists by this king. The object of my paper is to show that there is likewise no internal evidence for, or rather that there is strong internal evidence against, the belief in Offa's use of Italian artists.

The fact is that those who have made this supposition seem to me to have done so without sufficiently considering the circumstances of this particular time. There is scarcely any period in European history when Italian

art has not been superior to English, and when, therefore, it might not seem safe to attribute any change for the better in English art to Italian influence. But if there ever was a time when this was not the case it was the period with which we are concerned, namely, the eighth century. The arts in southern Europe had been suffering from an uniform and rapid decline. If we examine the Italian coinage of this period—as we shall proceed to do presently—we find none which could stand as a model for the incomparable coins of Offa. At the same time, one form of art—the art of illumination—from the time of its birth (as seems highly probable) in these islands, had grown just now to unexampled perfection here, whence it was spreading through France, or rather Frankland, to the south of Europe.

Mr. J. O. Westwood, the author of the "*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*," speaks with authority on this point. In the preface to his work on *Illuminated Manuscripts* he says: (p. iv.)—

"The study of these works has incontestably proved that at a period when the pictorial art may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and Greece, and indeed scarcely to have existed in other parts of Europe—namely from the fifth to the end of the eighth century—a style of art had been originated, cultivated, and brought to a most marvellous state of perfection in these islands, absolutely distinct from that of any other part of the civilised world, and which, having been carried abroad by numerous Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries, was adopted and imitated in the schools founded by Charlemagne, and in the monasteries established and visited by the former, many of which in after ages became the most famous seats of learning."



What I desire now to establish is, first, the fact that the artists of the coins we are reviewing were not indebted in the choice of models to the coinage of Italy; secondly, the inference that they were indebted to the English illuminators of the day.

We come then to consider the negative portion of the argument; and to do this we must notice the circumstances under which these pennies of Offa were introduced — circumstances which were themselves peculiar.

Without entering too closely into the tempting subject of the rise of mediæval numismatics, it will be sufficient to notice that the change from Roman to Mediæval is the most gradual possible, and that between the coinages which are distinctly Roman and those which are distinctly post-Roman, there is a large and indefinite transition-class, coins, namely, which while they still bear the effigy and titles of the Emperor, may from their style be positively declared to have been struck not by him but by his barbarian invaders and conquerors. All the coins which were struck by the Suevi, the Burgundians, the early Franks, Visigoths, and Lombards can only be tentatively divided among these separate nations by their styles; but we may say with certainty that they were not struck by the Emperors. This is of course just what might be expected. The credit attaching to money with the image and superscription of Cæsar, so long the only coinage of nearly the whole world, was not likely to disappear as soon as the power of the Cæsars came to an end. Procopius tells us that before 544, when Justinian ratified the cession of the Gallo-Roman provinces to the Franks, no gold money which did not bear the effigy of the Emperor was received even by the barbarians. Long before then the Visigothic

kingdom had thrown off all allegiance to the Empire; but there are no known autonomous Visigothic coins—no known coins with the name of a Visigothic king—before 572.

Even when this change from Imperial to autonomous coins was made it took place only in those countries which were reconquered from the Empire, and generally was confined to the gold currency, which had indeed gradually become in these countries the only coinage, or at least the only coinage recognised by the State. Thus in the Burgundian code compiled about the beginning of the sixth century, the solidus and tremissis only are mentioned; no allusion is made to a denarius or a silver currency. The earliest Mediaeval currency, then, is a gold currency or a series of gold currencies struck for France, Spain and north Italy by the conquerors of those countries, by the Salian Franks, the Visigoths and the Lombards.

Meanwhile we are not to suppose that those countries, especially Germany, which lay outside the old pale of the Empire were without a currency of any sort. In the time of Tacitus the Germans near the border used Roman coins, but silver in preference to gold, having, as he says, with their small commerce, no use for the more precious metal.<sup>1</sup> Although their preference arose from this cause, and, as Tacitus says, *nulla affectione animi*, yet it seems to have characterized the Germans even after they had much advanced in civilization. The advent of the Teutons into Britain is marked by the introduction of a purely silver<sup>2</sup> coinage, which our forefathers undoubtedly brought with them from trans-Rhenian Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.—*Germ.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> I agree with Mr. E. W. Robertson ("Historical Essays,"

In the same way when Austrasian influence predominated under Pepin a silver coinage was reintroduced, and when in the person of Karl it finally gained the supremacy in France and Germany, a silver coinage, founded strictly upon the old Cologne-mark standard, entirely ousted the Merovingian gold. "On and after the month of August, 781," says the edict, "the new pence, which bear our name and are full of weight, shall be current."<sup>3</sup>

It is just to this period of the introduction of the Carolingian denarius or penny that the coinage we are considering belongs. Karl's coinage is original; but it is also as simple and rude as possible. Nothing as a rule but a legend on the obverse and reverse, with a monogram or cross for ornament. There is nothing in it which could have been imitated on Offa's coins. Yet it is from these very deniers that we should have expected Offa to have drawn his models. For it was under the direct influence of this coinage of Karl's that Offa introduced the penny into England.

The change was indeed only a change of form, and not a radical change like that effected on the Continent. The English mark had always been the standard of value—and indeed differed but slightly from the Cologne mark. So that when the sceats were replaced by the pennies there was no need to alter their weight.<sup>4</sup> The English

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p. 63) in considering the stycas not as a copper but as a debased silver coinage.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Robertson, "Historical Essays," p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> The English mark was equal to 233.275 grammes, and was coined into 160 pennyweights. Each penny therefore should weigh 1.46 grammes. The average of half a dozen *Mercian* sceattas previous to Offa, taken at random, was found to be 1.23 grammes, and the average of a like number of Offa's

had, we see, all along preserved a thoroughly Germanic silver coinage as opposed to what may be called the Latin gold coinage of civilised Europe. The introduction of the penny into England marks the closer relationship between England and the Continent which followed the accession of the race of Karl.

We see therefore that there is nothing in the circumstances attending the introduction of the penny into England to suggest that the types of these pennies were taken from Italy. Is there anything in the Italian coinage of the time to which Offa's coinage might have been indebted?

The coinage of Italy towards the end of the eighth century may be divided into three classes, representing respectively Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. These three classes are the Lombardic, the Beneventan, and the Byzantine. The specimens which I have chosen, which are thoroughly representative specimens of these three classes, will speak more thoroughly than any words could do against the theory that they could have stood as models to the moneyers of Offa.

Each one of the seven coins here given (Pl. V., Nos. 6—12) might be made the subject of a dissertation; so interesting are the circumstances of their coinage and of the relationship of these types to the coinages which precede and follow them. The first four are Lombardic coins. The first (No. 6) a gold coin of Luitbrand (712—739); the second (No. 7) a silver coin (qui-

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pennies 1.20 grammes. The weights may therefore be considered identical, as they vary *inter se* by a difference as great as .2 grammes.

The weight of the Cologne mark was 233.856 grammes.

narius), attributed to the same king; the third (No. 8) is a gold coin of Disiderius (756—774); the fourth (No. 9) also a gold coin, attributed to Athalgistus (744—800). By comparing the first and fourth coins, separated by a space of about half a century, we see that the art on the Lombardic coins had effected no improvement. Indeed, at the later period, the reigns of Disiderius and Athalgistus, coins with an attempt at a portrait had become quite an exception, the type of No. 8 being the ordinary type. But, putting aside this fact and the fact that silver coins were here, as among the Merovingians, exceptional, we may, I think, safely say that Offa's engravers could have gained no inspiration from the engravers of these coins.

Passing over, for a moment, the coinage of Beneventum, let us look at the Byzantine coinage of Southern Italy, which is properly represented by No. 12, which bears the name of Leo the Isaurian (717—741). For the coinage of the Roman Empire, once so various in type and so admirable in execution, has sunk now to an almost complete uniformity, and, as far as Italy is concerned, no important variation from this type can be found. The essential characteristics, the front face, the flowing hair, the crown, are always reproduced. The same type, too, has served as a model for the coinage of Beneventum, of which No. 10, struck by Grimvald when subject to Karl (that is from 707—793) is a specimen, and which is still more conventional than the Byzantine coinage.

I need not repeat the question, Is there anything in any of these coinages which reappears on the coins of Offa? but I will call your attention to No. 11 of these coins, it being one of the first silver coins struck by a duke of Beneventum, and struck, as its monogram of Grimvald

shows, under the influence of the silver coinage introduced by Karl.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that these coinages of Italy are almost entirely gold I have cited as discrediting the notion of imitation on the English silver pennies; and I think it does so. Yet it is curious that—as I believe—this Byzantine type does, at a much later period, appear in the character of ancestor to the supposed head of the king upon an English penny, and that in the face on the coins of Henry II. with its crown of dots, and the three conventional curls beside each cheek, we see a remote descendant of the coinage of Leo or of Justinian.

We now come to our second inquiry. Is there anything in the ornamentation and design of Offa's coins to suggest Italian or even foreign influence? An examination of the chief native art-productions of the time—the English and Irish illuminations—would, I think, allow us to answer this question in the negative.

This is of course too wide a subject for our present inquiry. For it would oblige us to show not only that designs like those on Offa's coins are to be found in Saxon and Irish illuminations; but also to show that they are not to be found in Italian or Byzantine art—for at this epoch the two are nearly identical—of the eighth century.

To prove the first of these two points, I have given in my plate some figures taken from contemporary Saxon and Irish illumination-work. Those to which I would draw special attention are what Mr. Westwood calls the interlaced zoomorphic patterns. These patterns are especially remarkable on the coins of Offa, where they

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<sup>5</sup> The weight, however, is less than the average of the deniers of Karl, viz., about 1·16 grammes (or 18 grains).

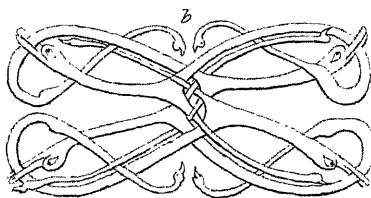
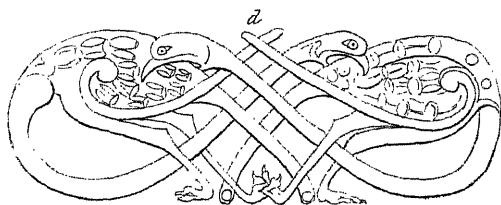
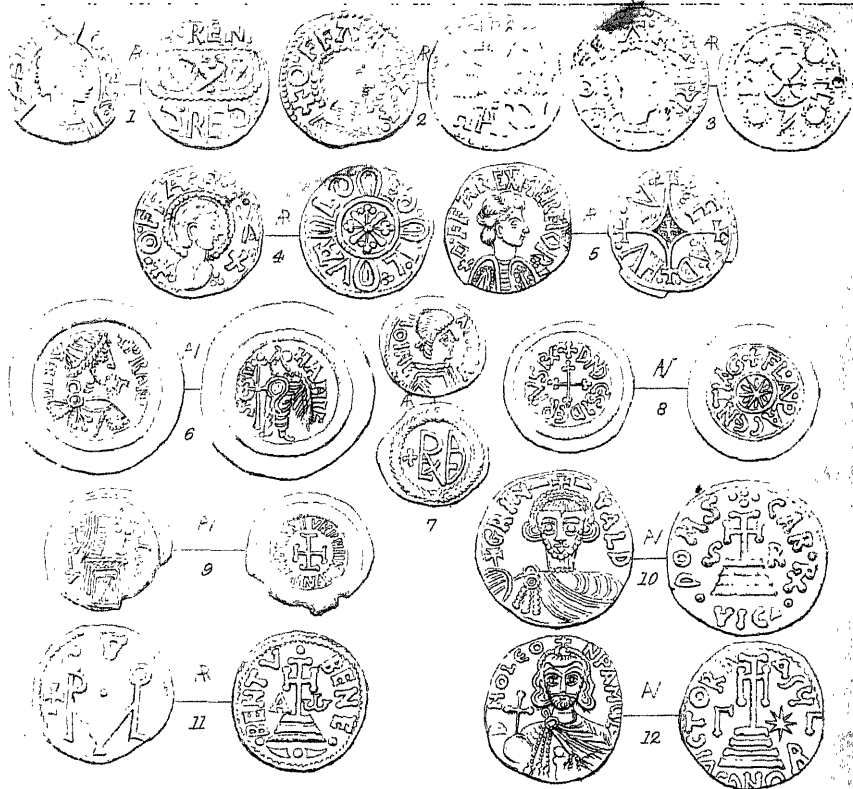
appear for the first and, I believe, only time in numismatics. How closely they resemble the patterns in the illuminations we may see by comparing Pl. V., Nos. 1 and 2, with Figs. *a*, *b* and *c*, which are taken respectively from the Book of Kells (seventh century), the Gospels of Lindisfarne (circ. A.D. 710), and from the Gospels of McRegol (A.D. 820).

Mr. Westwood mentions seven styles of ornament which he says are peculiar to the Saxon and Irish illuminations. These are,—

1. Simply by the use of dots, generally in different coloured inks.
2. By simple lines, straight or curved.
3. By the step-like angulated pattern.
4. By the Chinese-like Z pattern.
5. By interlaced ribbons.
6. By interlaced zoomorphic patterns; and
7. By the various spiral patterns, which are by far the most characteristic of the whole.

and he continues: "I now venture to assert that no monument or Art-relic of a date previous to the ninth century can be produced in which they, and especially the spiral pattern, are introduced, the execution of which cannot be clearly shown to have been dependent on some of our missionaries." The remarkable appearance, then, of these zoomorphic designs upon Offa's coins, combined with the fact that these designs are at this time peculiar to Saxon or Irish art, is alone, I think, quite sufficient to point out the art on Offa's coins as entirely native.

Nevertheless, though these zoomorphic patterns are the most remarkable and easy to insist upon, they are by no means the only features on this coinage which indicate their close relationship in respect of style to the illuminated MSS. We have not, it is true, on these coins any



*J. J. Lewis*





specimen of the spiral ornament which Mr. Westwood says is the most characteristic of all. But there is another ornament which Mr. Westwood does not mention, which is notwithstanding very common in illuminations of the eighth century and a little later. This ornament consists of a large pellet, surrounded by smaller dots, as we see it on the coin, Pl. V., No. 3, and Fig. *d*, from the Gospels of S. Chad (eighth or ninth cent.); and I may add that an attentive study of illuminated MSS. has led me to the conclusion that about this period this ornament of the pellet and dots does very frequently take the place of the older spiral ornament, and may therefore be considered a sort of descendant of it. To some extent, then, we may claim for these coins of Offa that they show specimens of the two most characteristic ornaments, viz., of the zoomorphic interlacing and, though not of the spiral ornament, yet of a legitimate descendant of it.

To those who are familiar with Saxon art I would point out many other peculiarities of ornament to them not less significant than those we have dwelt upon. Such are the dressing of the hair, the prevalence of small circles, and the short thick crosses in the formation of which a circle always plays a conspicuous part. I might have added specimens of figures taken from contemporary illuminations to show how fully capable English art then was of furnishing Offa with designs for his coins, or I might ask, How is it probable that Italian artists should have influenced the ornaments, and yet have left the peculiar Saxon letters unchanged? But I think enough has been said to establish the assertion with which I started, and to show the peculiar interest which belongs to Offa's coins as illustrating the native art of this period.

C. F. KEARY.

## XVI.

### A GOLD COIN OF ABÛ ISHÂK IBN MAḤMÛD SHÂH INCHÛ.

THE coin, of which a representation is given herewith (Pl. vi. No. 1), closely resembles, in its general appearance, a type of which many specimens are preserved, and which belongs to the reign of Abû Sa'id, the last ruler over the powerful empire founded by Hulaku.

The area, on one of its faces, contains the usual words :

ضرب في ايام دولة السلطان الاعظم ابو سعيد خلد الله ملكه

Encircling that inscription are the name of the place of mintage and date :

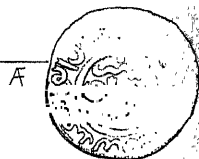
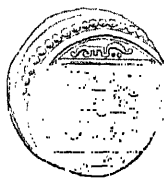
ضرب كازرون في سنة تسع عشر (عشرة) وسبع مائه

"Mintage of Kâzirûn in the year 719."

On the second area is the abridgment of the first and second Sunni symbols, and surrounding it are the following words, the first of which is formed into an ornamental scroll extending from the beginning to the end of the sentence :

فسيكفيهم الله وهو السميع العليم (Kur-ân, S. 11, v. 131).

Underneath are the names of the four Khalîfehs, and below them the name ABÛ ISHÂK.

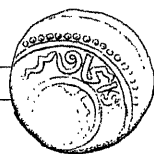


Æ



Æ

6



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7



T. J. Lee



The name of Kâzirûn, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been found as a place of mintage on coins either of the Hulaku or of any other dynasty. But I can feel no serious doubt of my having read the name correctly.

Situated about fifty miles west of Shîrâz, Kâzirûn is the burial-place of a celebrated saint, Abû Ishâk el Kâzirûni, a name venerated throughout the Muslim world. His shrine was visited and enriched by the faithful from the most distant parts of the East; and it was after that saint, as we are informed by Ibn Baṭṭah,<sup>1</sup> that Maḥmûd Shâh gave his son the name of Abû Ishâk. To both it was doubtless a place of frequent resort.

Of the history of what has been called the dynasty of Maḥmûd Shâh Injû or Inchû, we find little more than fragmentary notices in the writings of the Persian historians of the period.

Some very interesting particulars are furnished in the account of the travels of Ibn Baṭṭah; but their value, though great, is much impaired, in an historical point of view, by numerous inaccuracies. His visits to Shîrâz occurred at two different periods, separated from one another by an interval of twenty-one years (A.H. 727 and 748). Like his great Venetian predecessor, Ibn Baṭṭah, moreover, did not himself write the account of his travels. It was compiled long after their termination, and without the assistance of his notes, which, as has too often happened, were lost before the traveller returned to his own country. Errors in the order of events, and even in certain matters of fact, were under such circumstances inevitable. Add to that the general absence of dates, and it becomes sufficiently obvious that careful comparison of his statements with one

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 64.

another, and with information derived from other sources, is generally necessary before his historical notices can serve to add, with any degree of certainty, to a correct knowledge of the events to which they relate.

On my passage through Paris lately, M. Lavoix called my attention to an article published by Dr. Bergmann in Huber's *Numismatische Zeitschrift* for 1871, part iii. It contains a description of seven dirhems of Abû Ishâk of about A.H. 753, in which the learned author has included a full and interesting account of all that is recorded by the Persian historians of the Inchû dynasty. It leaves me little to add on the subject besides what is suggested by the early date of my own specimen of the mintage of Abû Ishâk, and by some other coins, to which I shall have occasion to refer.

The chief interest of the former indeed centres in its date, A.H. 719.

Sharf ed dîn Maḥmûd Shâh, surnamed Inchû, because he had charge of the extensive domains of the Sultân in the district of Fars, was raised by Abû Sa'îd to the governorship of that province, an appointment for which he is stated to have been indebted to the influence of the Amîr Chûbân, the powerful guardian of the youthful Sultân.

Nothing in the existing historical records of the time shows at what precise period the appointment was made; and, as far as I am aware, excepting for the evidence of the present coin, there could be little reason to believe that it occurred within three years of the date of the Sultân's accession.

Still less would there be reason to believe that Maḥmûd Shâh at so early a period resigned his authority to his son Abû Ishâk. That the latter, through some unknown

means or cause, was substituted for his father in the government of the province, is nevertheless a conclusion that can hardly be resisted. I do not know how else the prominent position of the name of Abû Ishâk, and the conspicuous absence of that of his father, can be accounted for. My own coin, moreover, is not the sole witness to the fact. A dirhem in the collection of the British Museum, with the date of A.H. 724, presents the same peculiarity (Pl. vi. No. 2). The name of Abû Ishâk alone appears on it, below that of Sultân Abû Sa'id Behâdur Khân. The two names are likewise found on a copper coin (No. 3), belonging to the same collection.

Another, a copper coin, I find described by General de Bartholomæi in the following terms:—

“No. 117. Môme Prince (Abû Sa'id). Fels d'Abou Ishac.

Av. السلطان الاعظم  
ابو سعيد بهادر  
خان خلد ملکه

En haut en plus petits caractères ابو اسحاق. Je ne connais aucune localité de ce nom.

Rev. Symbole comme au No. 94; traces des noms des Imams.”<sup>2</sup>

It must be observed that the curious inference to which we are thus led is corroborated by the language of Ibn Batûtah. “The Sultân of Shîrâz,” he says, “at the time of my arrival there,<sup>3</sup> was the most excellent King Abû Ishâk, son of Muḥammad (Maḥmûd) Shâh Yenjû.”<sup>4</sup> A few lines further on he says that Maḥmûd Shâh was (كان—

<sup>2</sup> Troisième lettre de M. le Général J. de Bartholomæi à M. F. Soret. Bruxelles, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> A.H. 727.

<sup>4</sup> سلطان شیراز فی عهد قدوسی علیہا الملک الفاضل ابو اسحاق  
بن محمد شاه ینجوا  
vol. ii. p. 63.



had been?) governor (*wali*) of Shîrâz on behalf of the King of 'Irâk. Throughout the traveller's account of his visit to Fars, Abû Ishâk is never designated under a lower title than that of Sultân, and there is not a word to imply that he at any time governed the province as the mere representative of his father.

Ibn Baṭūṭah, it is true, speaks of Maḥmûd Shâh as having died during the lifetime of Abû Sa'id,—an unquestionable error. It might be supposed, therefore, that in speaking of Abû Ishâk's high and independent estate, when recounting his visit in 727, the traveller laboured under an error of memory, and described a state of things which was true only when he returned to Shîrâz in 748. But he not only expressly says, in the words I have quoted, that Abû Ishâk was Sultân at the time of his arrival, but he mentions having seen that Prince<sup>5</sup> on an occasion which must refer to his first visit, since he tells us that when he returned he found Abû Ishâk *still* on the throne, but that he was absent from Shîrâz.<sup>6</sup> In like manner he tells us that he saw Abû Sa'id in 727 at Baghdâd, which he visited after leaving Shîrâz, and he gives the particulars of an interview he had with that Prince.<sup>7</sup>

That the time referred to is one previous to the death of Maḥmûd Shâh is beyond all question, not only because we know that Maḥmûd Shâh survived Abû Sa'id, but we have the traveller's own testimony, that from the death of Maḥmûd Shâh the rule of the Inchû family over Shîrâz ceased until a period subsequent to the death of Abû Sa'id.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. p. 62.

فوجدنا سلطانها ابا اسحاق على ملكه الا انه كان غائبا عنها  
—vol. iv. p. 311.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 116 and 131.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 65–68.

It thus follows from a comparison of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's various statements, that Abû Ishâk was ruler or "Sultân" of Shîrâz at a time when both his father and Abû Sa'îd were living. And, as already remarked, the conclusion is identical with that to which we are led by the coins bearing his name.

It will be observed that General de Bartholomæi supposed the words *Abû Ishâk* to be the name of a place. M. Soret himself fell under the same misapprehension,<sup>9</sup> which, without doubt, is to be attributed to the peculiar wording of the inscriptions found upon coins of that period. On the dirhem in the British Museum, to which I have referred, the inscription appears as follows :

Area (within a circle) ضرب  
السلطان ابو سعيد  
بہادر خان خلد ملکہ  
ابو اسحاق

Outer circle في سنة اربع وعشرين وسبعمائة

No locality is mentioned, and the words "Abû Ishâk" might be supposed to indicate it. Indeed were it not for my own specimen, in which the place of mintage is given as well as the name Abû Ishâk, I should feel some hesitation in speaking of M. Soret's reading as a misapprehension.

Abû Sa'îd died on the 12th Rabi' Akhir, 736;<sup>10</sup> and Arpa Kaûn, a descendant of Tuli Khân, was proclaimed his successor by the wezîr Ghiâth ed dîn and by the family of the Amîr Chûbân.

Within three months of his accession, the new Sultân

<sup>9</sup> *Eléments de la Numismatique Musulmane*, p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> De Guignes, vol. i. p. 282.

caused Maḥmûd Shâh Inchû to be seized and put to death. The two sons of Maḥmûd, the Amîr Mas'ûd and Abû Ishâk, took to flight, the former to Rûm, where he sought refuge with Sheikh Ḥasan Buzruk, and the latter to Diarbekir, where he claimed the protection of 'Ali Padishah.

'Ali Padishah had declared himself hostile to the government of Arpa, and had raised Mûsa, great-grandson of Hulaku, to the dignity of supreme Khân.

On the 17th Ramaḍan, 736,<sup>11</sup> an action was fought, in which Arpa was defeated and taken prisoner. He was delivered into the hands of the sons of Maḥmûd Shâh, and by them put to death.

The Amîr Sheikh Ḥasan Buzruk had meanwhile proclaimed Muḥammad Khân, also a descendant of Hulaku. Proposals he made to 'Ali Padishah, that they should jointly agree upon the choice of the Sultân, were rejected, and a battle ensued on the 17th Zu'l Hejjeh of the same year, which resulted in the death of 'Ali Padishah, and in the flight of Mûsa to Baghdâd.

Muḥammad Khân and Ḥasan Buzruk were, however, in their turn opposed by the Amîr Ḥasan Kuchuk the Chûbâni, who proclaimed Sâti Beg, the widow of his grandfather Chûbân and of Arpa Khân and sister of Sultân Abû Sa'id. He marched against Ḥasan Buzruk and Muḥammad Khân, and defeated them in an action, in which Muḥammad lost his life, on the 20th Zu'l Hejjeh, 738.

Of the fortunes of the Inchû family throughout these struggles, we have little or no account; but it would appear, although the fact is not mentioned by any of the Persian historians, that Abû Ishâk, some time before the death of Muḥammad Khân, had been promoted to a posi-

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<sup>11</sup> D'Ohsson, vol. iv. p. 720.

tion of authority, doubtless under the auspices of Sheikh Hasan Buzruk. So much at least is to be inferred from the existence in the collection of the British Museum of three copper coins, bearing the name of Abû Ishâk, together with that of Sultân MuĤammad (Pl. vi. Nos. 4, 5, and 6). The name of the place of mintage unfortunately does not appear, nor is it possible to determine the precise date of the coins. On one alone the words *thirty* and *seven hundred* can be deciphered, but the word that indicated the unit is gone.

In a list of the Princes ruling in A.H. 741 over the detached fragments of the Persian empire, we find the name of Jelâl ed dîn Mas'ûd as Sovereign of Fars and Shebankareh.<sup>12</sup> Dr. Bergmann, quoting the Jihanâra, relates that Mas'ûd was sent by Hasan Buzruk to Shîrâz along with Yaghi Basti, one of the sons of Chûbân, and that they jointly administered the government of the province.

D'Ohsson, in his *Histoire des Mongols*,<sup>13</sup> states that it was as coadjutor to Pir Husain, son of MaĤmûd, and grandson of Chûbân, that Mas'ûd was sent to Shîrâz, and likewise that it was Pir Husain who put Mas'ûd to death in 1343 (A.H. 743). In that year also, according to the same author, Pir Husain took the government of Isfahan from Sultân Shâh and gave it to Abû Ishâk. The latter, it is further stated, allied himself with the Amîr el Ashraf (brother of Hasan Kuchuk el Chûbâni), and attacked Pir Husain, who fled to Hasan Kuchuk, by whom he was put to death.

Ibn Baţûţah<sup>14</sup> relates a curious anecdote, which he pre-

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<sup>12</sup> Hammer, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, vol. ii. p. 321. But according to the same author (p. 318), the "heirs of MaĤmûd Shâh" were already in possession of Fars in A.H. 739.

<sup>13</sup> Vol. iv. p. 742.

<sup>14</sup> Vol. ii. p. 65.

mises with the statement that on the death of Maḥmūd Shāh, Sultān Abū Sa'id appointed in his place Sheikh Ḥusain, son of Chūbān.<sup>15</sup> Ḥusain, he continues, seized upon Abū Ishāk and his two brothers Rukn ed dīn and Mas'ūd, and upon their mother Tāsh Khatūn. They had reached the centre of the market-place of Shīrāz, when the Princess unveiled her face and called aloud upon the townspeople for help. Headed by a carpenter named Pehliwan Maḥmūd, whom the author says he himself saw on his own arrival at Shīrāz, the citizens arose and delivered Tāsh Khatūn and her sons from the hands of the soldiers. Ḥusain fled from the city, but returned with a numerous army, supplied to him by Abū Sa'id, and the Shīrāzis were compelled to submit.

"When Sultān Abū Sa'id died, leaving no issue," continues the author, "and when each Amīr took forcible possession of the authority in his hands, Ḥusain, alarmed for his own safety, abandoned the city. Sultān Abū Ishāk seized upon it, and conquered also Isfahan and the countries of Fars. His dominions embraced an extent of a month and a half's journey, and his power became great."

Dr. Bergmann is of opinion that the events, as above described, probably relate to the appointment of Musafir Eynak, who, by order of Abū Sa'id, superseded Maḥmūd Shāh in 733, but not without being at first driven out of the city and pursued into the very vestibule of the Sultān's palace, the walls of which, it is stated, were struck by the arrows of his pursuers.<sup>16</sup>

I write without the means of consulting original autho-

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<sup>15</sup> I have already referred to the anachronism committed by Ibn Baṭṭāh in speaking of Abū Sa'id as having survived Maḥmūd Shāh.

<sup>16</sup> D'Ohsson, vol. iv. p. 715.

rities, and chiefly dependent upon rough notes taken before I had enjoyed the advantage of reading Dr. Bergmann's article. But it strikes me as highly probable that Ibn Baṭūṭah here confuses the incidents and events of two entirely separate and distinct periods; and that conclusion will be well nigh irresistible if it can be shown that D'Ohsson is right in stating that it was Pir Ḥusain who was appointed to the government of Shîrâz by Ḥasan Buzruk.

It is to be observed that both the appointment of Musafir Inak and the expulsion of Pir Ḥusain (or Yaghi Basti?) from Shîrâz, though separated from one another by a considerable interval of time, occurred long after Ibn Baṭūṭah's first visit, and that he probably first heard of both events only on his return in 748.

Abū Ishāk reigned over Fars from A.H. 743 to 754. These eleven years may be taken as representing the culminating point in his career. The glowing description given by Ibn Baṭūṭah of his power, wealth, and ambition, must doubtless be assigned to that period; as also the statement that his army, composed of Turks and Persians, numbered upwards of 50,000 men.

To that period likewise belong the seven dirhems described by Dr. Bergmann, as also one precisely similar preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The latter, the date of which is unfortunately undecipherable, shares with the dirhems of the Imperial Collection of Vienna the peculiarity that the name Abū Ishāk ibn Maĥmūd Shāh is accompanied by the lakab "El Muta-wakkil 'ala Allah."

This title, as is pointed out by Dr. Bergmann, cannot be referred to the 'Abbasi Khalīfeh of that name, whose accession took place in A.H. 763, five years after the death of Abū Ishāk. But Dr. Bergmann is at the same time of

opinion that it cannot be held as applying to Abû Ishâk himself, and he thinks it must be assigned to the Khalîfeh El Hâkim b-imr Illah, who reigned from A.H. 741 to 753, and who, he supposes, may at the end of his career have temporarily changed his laḳab from "El Hâkim" to "El Mutawakkil." Dr. Bergmann forms this conjecture as a solution to the difficulty presented by a coin described by M. de Saulcy in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1841, upon which the inscription runs as follows:

أبو اسحق  
المتوكل على الله  
بن محمود شاه

Such an arrangement of the words, he thinks, is inconsistent with the supposition that the name and laḳab are intended to designate one and the same person.

I cannot without hesitation form an opinion opposed to that of the learned author, but I feel the greatest difficulty in adopting his conjecture.

Dr. Bergmann says that he vainly searched the historians of the period for a solution of the apparent discrepancy. I may add that, according to El Maḳrizi, when Abû-l Ḳasim Aḥmad was raised to the Khalîfate by the Sultân El Manṣûr Abû Bekr, he was surnamed El Hâkim, though he had at first received the laḳab El Mustansîr.<sup>17</sup> That the Khalîfeh should at the end of his reign have made a fresh change in his title, however transient, and that the circumstance should be noticed by none of the historians of the time, strikes me as very improbable.

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<sup>17</sup> Kitâb el Khiṭaṭ.—Bulâk ed. vol. ii. p. 242. El Maḳrizi gives Friday, 4th of Sha'ban, of the year 748, as the date of El Hâkim's death.

The difficulty arising from the arrangement of the words upon the coin in question seems to me light in comparison. Transpositions in the words composing a name and title are indeed not unfrequent. The arrangement of an inscription seems to have been left very much to the discretion of the engraver, or of those under whose directions he executed his work, and to their ideas of symmetry. Thus glancing over the coins in my collection, I find among those of the Memlûk Sultâns a dirhem upon which the inscription runs as follows:—

(بيس) برس الصالحى  
الملك الظاهر  
ركن الدنيا والدين

The conclusion I feel inclined to adopt is that the title *El Mutawakkil* belongs to Abû Ishâk himself. He probably adopted it on his restoration in A.H. 743; it may be in remembrance of the vicissitudes of his past life, and to indicate his reliance upon God for future safety and protection amidst the dangers and perils with which he probably felt himself surrounded.

A circumstance which deserves notice is that in these later coins his name appears as اسحق, whilst in the previous ones we find it written in the somewhat less usual but perfectly correct form اسحاق.

In A.H. 754 Abû Ishâk was besieged in Shîrâz by Muḥammad, son of Aḥmed el Muzaffar, the ruler of Kermân and Yazd. He escaped to Isfahan, but was captured and brought back to Shîrâz, where he was put to death in Jemâdi-l Awal, 758.

According to Ibn Khaldûn, he had incurred the enmity of the people of Shîrâz, in consequence of his having ordered a Sherîf, one of the chief men of the city, to be executed.



Muhammad ibn el Muẓaffar publicly denounced the act, and marched against Abû Ishâk at the head of an army. The people of Shîrâz allied themselves with Ibn el Muẓaffar and surrendered the city to him. Abû Ishâk fled to Isfahan, but was pursued, and again was obliged to escape from that city, which thereupon likewise fell into the hands of his enemy. The latter now issued proclamations throughout the country for the arrest of Abû Ishâk, who was captured and put to death at Shîrâz in retaliation for the blood of the Sherîf whom he had killed.<sup>18</sup>

The same author describes Abû Ishâk as having walked in the way of his father, assiduously and personally discharging his duties; and he adds that brilliant memorials of his career endured after him. Sheikh 'Aḍad ed din, he continues, composed for him the Kitâb el Mawâkif, and Sheikh 'Omad ed din el Kâshi a commentary on the Kitâb el Miftâh. Both these authors, he adds, named their books after Abû Ishâk.

I find the works in question enumerated in the Kitâb Keshf ez Zunûn, the former under the title of Mawâkif fi 'ilm el Kalâm; but its author, the Kādi 'Aḍad ed din 'Abd er Raḥmân ibn Aḥmad il Aiji, is stated to have composed it for Ghiâth ed din, wezîr of Abû Sa'id, but whom the author styles wezîr of Khodabendeh.<sup>19</sup> Among the commentaries of the Kitâb Miftah il 'Olûm, the author mentions that of 'Omâd ed din Yahya ibn Aḥmad el Kâshi. Further on he mentions that an abridgment of the work

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<sup>18</sup> Kitâb el 'ibar wa diwân el Mubtadâ wa-l Khabar.—Bulâk ed. vol. v. p. 556.

<sup>19</sup> Kitâb Keshf ez Zunûn 'an isâmi-l Kutub wa-l funûn.—Bulâk ed. vol. ii. pp. 362 and 301.

The Kitâb el Mawâkif is also mentioned in the Bibliothèque Orientale, and a copy of the work appears already to have existed in the Royal Library of Paris in the days of d'Herbelot.

of 'Aḍad ed din al Ajjī, who is here stated to have died in 756, was named by its author "El Fawâid el Ghiâthiêh" الفوائد الغياثية.

Ibn Khaldûn's statement that these works were named after Abû Ishâk, it will be observed, is not confirmed; but we may none the less accept the high terms of praise which he and Ibn Baṭûṭah both agree in awarding to Abû Ishâk, whose career and talents unquestionably entitle him to a distinguished rank in the history of the turbulent times in which he lived.

HENRY C. KAY.

ALEXANDRIA, *March*, 1875.

Since the preceding pages were written, I have had an opportunity of seeing the copy of the Kitâb el Mawâkif at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The MS. is dated A.H. 782. The author, I find, states in his introduction that he composed the work under the patronage of Abû Ishâk, to whom he gives the title of Jemâl ed dunya-w-ed-din. The accuracy of Ibn Khaldûn is thus fully vindicated; but it deserves to be noted that Hammer had met with the same version as that of the Kashf ez Zunûn, respecting the dedication of the Kitâb el Mawâkif to Ghiâth ed din. See the *Geschichte der Ilchane*, vol. ii. p. 296.

I have also been indebted to the kindness of M. Lavoix for the inspection of an interesting dirhem of Abû Ishâk belonging to a private collection (Pl. vi. No. 7). On this coin, struck at Shîrâz, the name of Abû Ishâk is likewise accompanied by the laḡab *El Mutawakkil 'ala Allah*, and the inscription is remarkable for being in the following form:

المتوكل على  
الله ابو اسحق  
بن محمود شاد

The name and title form here one continuous sentence, with no separation of any kind between them, pointing, it seems to me conclusively, to their denoting one and the same person.

In the two angles of the lozenge which contains the above inscription, are, on the right and left, the words تاريخ الخاني; and on the four outer segments,

ضرب شيخ كبير (؟) | في شهور | سنة ٥٠٠ | . . . .

Although otherwise in an excellent state of preservation, the inscription at one portion of the edge of the coin is unfortunately wanting. The precise date is consequently doubtful, but we may probably read the year 45; and it is interesting to find that the date has in the present instance been expressed according to the Ilkhanian era.

The other area of the coin is occupied by the first and second Sunni symbols abridged, together with the names of the four Khalifehs; and encircling the octagon on which they are contained is the following sentence:

قل اللهم ما | لك الملك توفى | الملك من . . . . .

The few remaining words are easily supplied.

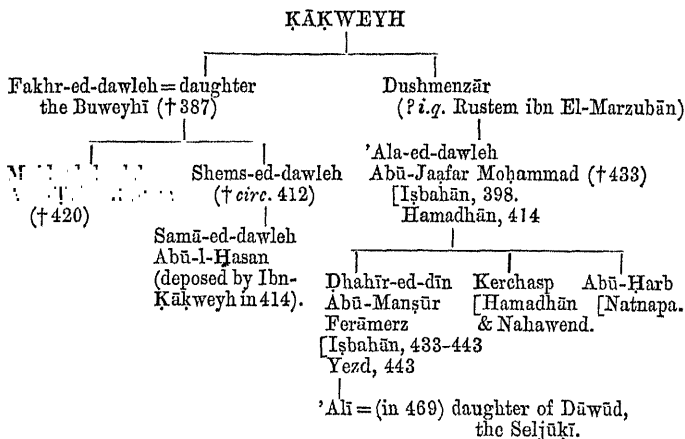
"Say, O God, Lord of Empire, thou bestowest sovereignty upon whom thou wilt, and thou takest it from whom thou wilt."—Kur-ân, S. iii. v. 25.

It has struck me as remarkable to find these words on the coinage of Abû Ishâk. They are precisely such as would be selected by a pious Muḥammadan Prince under the influence of such thoughts as I have already supposed may have suggested the adoption of the surname *El Muta-wakkil 'ala Allah*.

## XVII.

### UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE KĀKWEYHĪS.

THE hitherto-published coins of the Kāḳweyhīs are four: they are described at the end of this article. To these I am now able to add ten unpublished pieces; seven dirhems and a dīnār from the collection of the late Col. Seton Guthrie, and two dirhems from that of the British Museum. Of these two latter, one is more properly to be attributed to a vassal of the Kāḳweyhīs. For the history of the dynasty, reference should be made to Professor Tornberg's essay, 'Sur un dirhem Kakweihide inédit de la Collection de M. F. Soret' (*Revue de la Num. Belge*, 3ème ser. T. ii. p. 329 ff.). The subjoined genealogical table (which is reprinted with some modifications from an article by Prof. Stickel in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Ges.* xviii. 297) is sufficient for the present purpose.



'Alā-ed-dawleh Moḥammad ibn Dushmanzār.

A.H. 398-433.

1. Silver. A.H. 414. *Sābūr-Khawāst*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
القادر بالله امير  
الامرا سما الدولة  
. . . . .

Margin. بسم الله ضرب . . . الدرهم بسابور خواست سنة  
اربع عشر وارب مائة

Rev. Area.

الله  
محمد رسول الله  
شاهان شاه  
مجد الدولة  
محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ (المشركون)

Traces of word above and below obverse area,  
but not legible.

It is recorded by Ibn-el-Athīr that 'Alā-ed-dawleh added Sābūr-Khawāst to his dominions in this very year 414.

The Shāhānshāh Mejd-ed-dawleh, whose name appears on the reverse, is of course the Buweyhī suzerain; whilst Samā-ed-dawleh, the Amīr-el-Umarā, of the obverse, is the lesser suzerain, the son of Shems-ed-dawleh, the younger

brother of Mejd-ed-dawleh and son of Fakhr-ed-dawleh the Buweyhī. This Samā-ed-dawleh succeeded to his father's dominions some time after 411, and was in 414 deprived of them by Ibn-Kākweyh (as 'Alā-ed-dawleh was commonly called). It is difficult to see why his name is retained on the coinage of the latter; and it is also difficult to explain why Samā-ed-dawleh is called on (8) *ibn 'Izz-ed-dawleh* instead of *ibn Shems-ed-dawleh*. Probably Shems-ed-dawleh was as handsomely endowed with surnames as the rest of the family of Buweyh, and 'Izz-ed-dawleh may very well have been one of his less-used prænomens.

2. Silver. А.П. 41(5?). *Māh-el-Kūfeh*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

القادر باله

Margin (inner) قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد

ولم يكن له كفوا احد

(outer)

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Rev. Area.

ن

محمد بن

شمس-نزار

Margin (inner) شاهانشاه مسجد الدولة امير الامرا سنا الدولة

وسما الملة

(outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بما (sic)

الكو.....س عشرة واربع مائة

3. Silver. A.H. 416. *Māh-el-Kūfeh*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Precisely similar to (2); except

Outer rev. marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بماء الكوفة سنة  
ست عشرة وأربع مائة

4. Silver. A.H. 416. (*Māh-el-Kūfeh*). (Guthrie Collection.)

Similar to last, except

Outer rev. marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الكوفة سنة ست  
عشرون مائة

5. Silver. A.H. 416. *Hamadhān*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area.

لا اله الا  
الله محمد رسول  
الله القادر  
بالله

Margins as on (2).

Rev. Area as on (2), without و.

Margin (inner) شاهان نشاء مجد الدولة امير الامرا سنا الدولة

(outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بهمدان سنة  
ست عشرة و.....

6. Silver. A.H. 41x. Mint effaced. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. and rev. as on (2), except

Rev. outer margin—بسم الله ضرب هذا الد...شرة وأربع مائة

7. Silver. Date and mint illegible. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
علا الدولة

Margin (inner) as on (2).

(outer)

بسم الله ض . . . . .

Rev. Area as on (2).

Margin (inner) as on (2).

(outer)

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

On this coin the outer margins on the obv. and rev. seem to have been transposed.

8. Silver. A.H. 421. Mint effaced. (British Museum.)

Obv. Area.

نصر من

الله بالقادر

وحده الله شريك له

و قوة بالله

الله

(Or, written out—ولا قوة له ولا شريك له وحده لا شريك له ولا قوة—)

الا بالله نصر من الله القادر بالله)

Margin (inner) امير الامراء سما الدولة وسنا الملة ابو الحسن

باصم بن عز الدولة

(outer) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدر . . . . . احدى

وعشرين واربع مائة



Rev. Area.

• لله •

محمد رسول الله

عضد الدين و

علاء الدولة

أبو جعفر

Margin.

محمد ..... ولو كره المشركون

The arrangement of the obverse inscription is, I believe, quite unique. The peculiar form and position of the five *lām-alifs* are especially noteworthy; and the formula, generally characteristic of the coinage of the Spanish Arabs, *ولا قوة الا بالله*, is remarkable on a coin struck (as this must have been) in Persia in the early part of the fifth century of the Flight. The British Museum may certainly boast the most extraordinary coin of the *Kāk-weyhīs* yet known.

9. Gold. A.M. 429. *El-Mohammadīyeh*. (Guthrie Collection.)

Obv. Area.

عدل

لا اله الا

الله القاسم

بامر الله

مسعود

Margin.

بسم الله صرب هذا الدينار بالمحمدية سنة تسع

وعشرين واربعمائة

Rev. Area.

لله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
محمد بن  
دشمنزار

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Mes'ūd is, of course, the first of that name in the series of the kings of Ghazneh; he reigned from 421 to 432.

Dirhem of *Farhādīh ibn Mardāvīj*, as vassal to Ibn-Kākweyh.

10. Silver. A.H. (41)5. (British Museum.)

Obv. Area.

حلى؟  
لا اله الا الله  
محمد رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
\*مجد الدولة  
امير الامرا سما الدولة  
فرهان

Margin. ... هذا الدرهم .... حرد سنة خمس .....

Rev. Area.

قل هو  
الله احد الله  
الصمد لم يلد و  
لم يولد ولم يكن  
له كفوا احد  
محمد بن دشمنزار

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

It seems permissible to assign this dirhem to that Farhādih ibn Mardawīj who is recorded by Ibn-el-Athīr as having been an ally of Ibn-Ḳāḳweyh in his war with Abū-Sahl in 425, and having died therein. The name of the Khalifeh El-Ḳādir († 422) and of Mejd-ed-dawleh (who was taken captive by the Ghaznawīs in 420) precludes the possibility of the coin having been struck in 425; and the name of Samā-ed-dawleh shows that it could not have been struck in 405, for at that time his father Shems-el-dawleh was reigning. Hence there only remains the year 415 in which it could have been struck.

## APPENDIX.

## PUBLISHED COINS OF THE ḲĀḲWEYHĪS.

## I. 'Alā-ed-dawleh Moḥammad.

1. Silver. A.H. 409. Mint doubtful.

(P. Savélieff, *Coll. Numism.* p. 409.)<sup>1</sup>

Obv. Area.

\*

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك له

محمد بن دشمشزار

Margin. بسم الله ضرب . . . . . سنة تسع وأربع مائة

Rev. Area.

له

محمد رسول الله

القادر بالله

ملك الملوك

شمس الدولة

به

Margin.

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by W. Tiesenhausen, *Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 1875.

2. Silver. A.H. 41*x*. Mint effaced. (Soret Collection.)<sup>2</sup>  
 (Prof. C. J. Tornberg, *Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 3e sér. T. ii.  
 p. 329 ff. 1858.)

Oby. Area. لا اله الا الله  
 القادر بالله  
 محمد الدولة  
 رستم

Margin (inner) ... الله احد الله الصمد ... يولد ولم يكن  
 له كفوا احد  
 بسم الله ضرب هذا الد ... شرقة واربعماية (outer)

Rev. Area. رستم  
 محمد رسول الله  
 عضد الدين  
 علا الدولة  
 محمد بن دشمنزيار

Margin. .... ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله

With regard to the spelling دشمنزيار which Professor Tornberg discovers on this coin (and also in MSS. of Ibn-el-Athīr), and which M. Tiesenhausen (*Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 1875) proposes to amend by reading Shahryār شهریار, on account of certain peculiarities in the writing of the name, it may be well to observe that on all the ten unpublished coins described in the foregoing pages the name is unmistakeably written دسمرار, the د being quite distinct, and no traces being visible of a ي before the ل.

<sup>2</sup> This dirhem was the first coin of the Kākweyhīs ever published.

## II. Ferāmerz ibn Moḥammad.

3. Gold. A.H. 438. Iṣbahān. (Sauvaire Collection.)  
 (Prof. C. J. Tornberg, note on M. H. Sauvaire's *Lettre à M. F. Soret* sur quelques dinars inédits des Selgiouquides de Perse,<sup>3</sup>  
*Rev. de la Num. Belge*, 3e sér. T. vi. pp. 451 ff. 1862.)

Obv. Area.

نصر  
 لا اله الا الله  
 السلطان المعظم  
 شاهانشاه  
 طغرلبك

Margin.

..... هذا لدينار (sic) باضيهان سنة ثمان  
 وثلثين واربع مائة

Rev. Area.

ظفر  
 محمد رسول الله  
 القائم بامر الله  
 فرامرزين محمد  
 بن دشمنزار

Margin.

محمد رسول الله الخ

In this very year 438 Ṭughril-Bēg besieged Iṣbahān, but failing to take it contented himself with making peace on the condition that Ferāmerz should pay a fine and

<sup>3</sup> The description of this coin in the *Rev. Belge* was in several respects imperfect, but my friend M. Sauvaire has since rectified this in a letter to me in which he describes the piece afresh. He remarks that there are no traces of a ي before the ا of دشمنزار.

should acknowledge his suzerainty in the public prayer (Khuṭbeh). Ferāmerz was finally ejected from Iṣbahān in 443.

4. Gold. A.H. 439. Mint effaced. (Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

(Prof. J. G. Stickel, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xviii. 297.)

Obv. Area.

فتح  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
السلطان المعظم  
طغرل بك

Margin. The usual date formula. The mint, however, is effaced, and the unit of the date might be سبع or تسع.

Rev. Area.

الله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
القائم بأمر الله  
الامير فرامرز

Margin. Not described, but doubtless محمد رسول الله الخ

This dīnār was only referred to by Dr. Stickel in the Z.D.M.G., but he has since given me the description of it which he received from the late M. Soret in 1863. The piece formed part of the collection presented by the Khedive. M. Soret and Dr. Stickel leave the date uncertain, not being able to determine whether the unit is

7 or 9. I think the fact that it was in 438 that Ṭughril-Bēg compelled Ferāmerz to pay him homage goes far to prove that this coin was struck in 439: otherwise we should hardly see the name of Ṭughril-Bēg upon it. Dr. Stickel remarks in his letter to me, "Es ist mir nicht bekannt, dass dieses Exemplar irgendwo publicirt worden ist;" so the coin is virtually *inedited*, for the notice in the Z.D.M.G. could hardly count as a description.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM, *Sept.* 1, 1875.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band II., Heft 4, contains the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender. "The Acquisitions of the Royal Coin-cabinet (Berlin) in the year 1874."

2. L. Müller. "On the Coins of Asia and Africa with the Portraits of Proconsuls."

3. H. Droysen. "The Coins of the Persian Satraps in Asia Minor."

4. H. Dannenberg. "The Kowal Find."

5. A. Holm. "Remarks on Head's History of the Coinage of Syracuse."

6. Th. Mommsen. "Find of Denarii at Compito."

7. A. von Sallet. "On Coins of Darius, King of Pontus, and Mithradates (Pergamēnus) of Bosporus."

8. A. von Sallet. "Medals of Albert Dürer."

Band III., Heft 1, contains the following articles:—

1. W. Corssen. "Etruscan Inscriptions on Coins."

2. F. von Duhn. "On the Coinage of Tyndaris."

3. F. von Duhn. "Mastanesosus, Dynast in Numidia."

4. J. Friedlaender. "*Graffiti* on Coins."

5. A. von Sallet. "On Greek Numismatics. (Neapolis Siciliae. — Abdera. — Dicæa. — Cetriporis. — Alexander I. — Olympias. — Demetrius of Illyricum. — King Saul . . . or Saum . . .)."

6. P. Brock. "Numismatic Investigations on the Coins of the later Roman Empire, with especial relation to their Mint-marks."

A note by Dr. von Sallet informs us that false coins are still fabricated in large numbers at Udine. The Berlin cabinet has lately acquired a large number of them for purposes of study. It is much to be regretted that the Trustees of the British Museum do not follow the example set by Berlin, and authorise the purchase of clever forgeries, a collection of which is most instructive to the Numismatist. According to Dr. von Sallet, the Udine forgeries have deceived the most experienced, both of Numismatists and Coin dealers. Collectors should at the present moment be especially cautious in purchasing coins of the later Roman Emperors. It is said that the Patina of these forgeries is unimpeachable.

The celebrated cabinet of the Count Prokesch-Osten has been purchased by the Berlin Museum. Dr. von Sallet supposes



that the acquisition of this collection puts the Berlin Museum, as regards Greek coins, at least on an equality with London and Paris. We had no idea that Berlin was even third upon the list of famous Coin collections. Now, perhaps, we may hope to see a Catalogue commenced.

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The Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. I. Coins of the Eastern Khalifehs, by Stanley Lane Poole, edited by Reginald Stuart Poole.

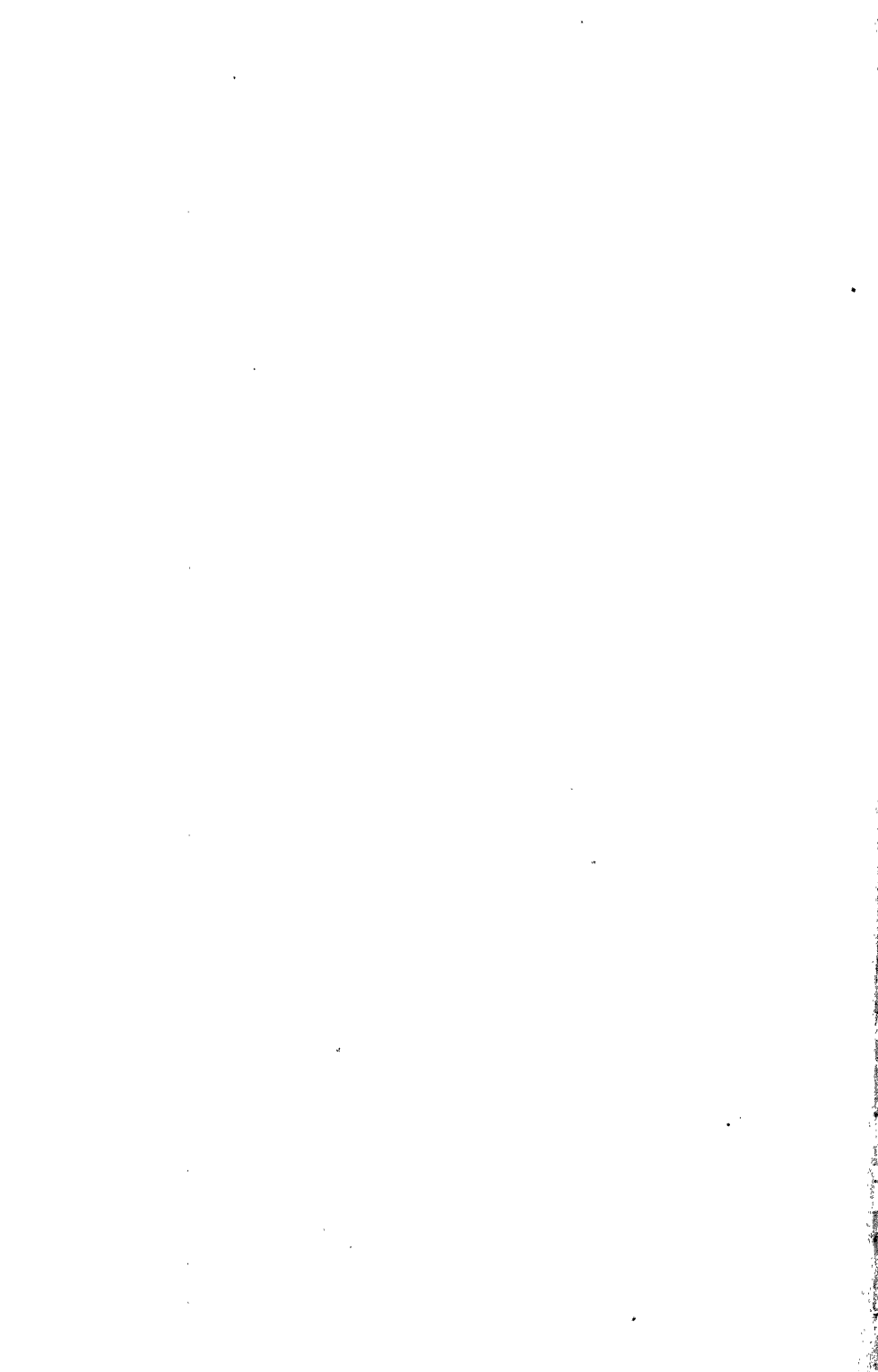
This is a volume which will be welcomed both by the Oriental Numismatist and the Historian, though the two classes united do not form in England a very numerous body. Although, as we see from the title-page, the work before us is only an instalment, it is, nevertheless, complete in itself, comprising the whole series of the eastern Khalifate. The rapid increase of the power of the Khalifehs, under the first dynasty, is well illustrated by the quick succession of fresh mints which we encounter in the earlier years, and when, under the 'Abbâsee dynasty, the throne of Baghdâd attained its greatest splendour, the fact is sufficiently indicated by the numerous and extensive coinage of the famous Haroon-er-Raschid.

The wealth and luxury which characterized the later Khalifehs is shown by the imposing gold coins issued by the successors of Haroon, but the diminution in the number of their mints shows, too, how their kingdom was gradually filched from them by the *soi-disant* tributary dynasties of Persia and Africa. From the stand-point of the Historian it is somewhat to be regretted that the coins, especially those of the Amawî Series, should have been arranged in order of mints rather than that of dates, as the latter classification would have made more evident the rapid advance of the Mohammedan Empire. Thus out of thirty-five Amawî mints, seventeen, that is about half, are first represented in the Museum Collection by coins struck between the years 90 and 95 A.H. The arrangement which has been adopted is, however, unquestionably a saving of space, and the disadvantages which we have pointed out are in great part remedied by the elaborate and careful indexes at the end of the volume.

We know of no Catalogue of the coinage of these dynasties which can in extent and completeness compare with this one, except Tiesenhausen's elaborate work, and the latter, from being written in Russian, is not half so available to students as it might have been made. This volume must become for Englishmen, at least, a standard work.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

DATE. B.C.	EVENTS.	BABYLONIC—EUBOIC.	ASIATIC.	ÆGINETIC.	PHOCAIC.
720	The Mermaidæ in Lydia, 716. Abydos founded, 715. <i>Lelantian Commercial Wars</i> , 720—700.	First invention of coin- ing in Lydia. The earliest coins are of electrum and follow the Babylonian silver standard.			
710					
700	Aminocles sent to Samos, 704.	Samos, Chalcis, and Eretria in Eubœa, after the Lelantian wars, issue coins in electrum on the Ba- bylonian gold stan- dard.	Miletus, after the Le- lantian wars, com- mences the issue of electrum coins on the Phœnician standard. Ephesus, Cyme, Sar- des, Abydos, Calche- don, and other towns follow her example.	Ægina issues electrum on the Milesian standard slightly re- duced.	
690					
680	Cyzicus founded from Megara, 675. Calchedon founded, 674.				
670					
660	<i>Phœidon of Argos</i> , 669?—661. Selymbria founded, 662.				
650	Byzantium founded, 657. Lampsacus founded, 654.	The Eubœan towns commence about this time the issue of silver on the Babylonian standard for gold, which is henceforth known as the Euboic standard.	Lampsacus, Chios, Ere- thra, and other towns follow the ex- ample of Miletus, and issue electrum on the Asiatic standard.	Phœidon of Argos strikes, in Ægina, the first Greek silver coins on the reduced Milesian standard, which is thenceforth known as Æginetic.	
640					
630	Cyrene founded, 631. <i>Milesian War</i> , 623—612.				
620	Accession of Alyattes, 617.	Corinth, probably in the time of Periander, Ceos, Cyrene, and Coreyra? issue silver on the Euboic stan- dard.	The Milesian electrum staters cease to be issued, probably dur- ing the Milesian war. Their place supplied by the Phœacian gold. The hecææ perhaps survive until the time of Croesus.		
610					
600	<i>Periander of Corinth</i> , 625— 585. <i>Phœacian Thalassocracy</i> , 602— 558.				Phœcea, Teos, Sardes, Cyzicus, Zeleia in the Troad, and other towns commence the issue of an electrum or gold coinage on the Phœacian standard.
590	<i>Archonship of Solon</i> , 594.	Athens, in the time of Solon, follows the example of Corinth, and commences to strike silver accord- ing to the Euboic standard.		Coreyra on her rupture with Corinth, about the time of the death of Periander, ex- changes the Euboic for the Æginetic standard. Ceos does the same.	
580					
570					
560		Croesus reorganises the Lydian coinage, abo- lishing electrum and issuing instead gold and silver on the Ba- bylonian system.	The Asiatic electrum finally abolished by Croesus.		The Phœacian electrum generally superseded by the money of Croesus.
550	<i>Croesus in Lydia</i> , 560—546.				
540	Capture of Sardes by the Persians, 546.				
530	<i>Sarmian Thalassocracy</i> , 532— 522. <i>Polycrates at Samos</i> , 532—522. Accession of Darius, 521.				
520	Capture of Samos by the Per- sians.	First issue, in the reign of Darius, of an im- perial coinage in gold and silver (Darius and Sighe), by which the Lydian coinage of Croesus is finally superseded.	The issue of electrum on the Asiatic stan- dard renewed by Polycrates of Samos. On the capture of Samos the electrum coinage is finally superseded by the Persian Darius.		The Persian royal gold coinage universal in Asia.



## XVIII.

### METROLOGICAL NOTES ON THE ANCIENT ELECTRUM COINS STRUCK BETWEEN THE LELANTIAN WARS AND THE ACCESSION OF DARIUS.

CONTENTS:—§ 1. INTRODUCTION. § 2. DERIVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK WEIGHT-SYSTEMS FROM THE HEAVY AND LIGHT BABYLONIAN MINÆ.—(α) From the heavy Babylonian Mina, the Phocæic Gold Standard, the Asiatic or 15 Stater Silver Standard, and the Æginetic Silver Standard. (β) From the Light Babylonian Mina, the Euboic Gold and Silver Standard, and the Babylonian or 10 Stater Silver Standard. § 3. ELECTRUM.—(i.) Babylonian. (ii.) Asiatic. (iii.) Æginetic. (iv.) Euboic. (v.) Phocæic. § 4. CONCLUSION. § 5. APPENDIX.—(i.) Explanation of the Plates. (ii.) Table of the relative weights of English grains and French grammes. (iii.) Chronological Table.

#### § 1. INTRODUCTION.

THE discovery not long since of a small number of electrum coins on the coast of the mainland opposite the island of Samos, has led me to examine more minutely than I had hitherto done the series of electrum coins preserved in the British Museum; and as a renewed study of the coins has convinced me that we have still much to learn concerning these earliest examples of the art of coining, I have no hesitation in laying the results of my work before the Numismatic Society, in the hope that others also may turn their attention to this interesting series, and that thus we may obtain a clearer insight into the commercial relations of the various Greek cities, both on the Asiatic and European sides of the sea, in the two centuries preceding the subjugation of the former by the Persians.

As the Persian conquest will form the limit of my investigations, the long series of the Cyzicene staters and hectæ, and of the hectæ of Phocæa, marked respectively

with the symbols of Cyzicus and Phocæa, the tunny-fish and the seal, being of a later date, will be beyond the bounds of the present inquiry. So also will be many other electrum coins of a comparatively late period, issued by cities apparently unconnected with the above-mentioned monetary leagues. In the following pages I intend to confine myself to the consideration of the earliest electrum coins only, with especial reference to the standards of weight which they follow. And here, once and for all, let me express how much I am indebted to Brandis, whose "Münz-Mass und Gewichtswesen" will always remain a treasure-house stored with the results of patient research, to which the numismatist must continually return, and where he will always find new matter for study, leading him on to new lines of inquiry, and not seldom to new and important discoveries.

It may even be objected by some that, after the exhaustive chapters which Brandis has devoted to this subject, all I shall have to say will be merely a recapitulation of what may be found in his work. To such I would reply, that even if it were only so, a short review of the results arrived at by him would not be without its uses, especially in this country where students are but too apt to ignore the existence of archæology, and especially numismatics, as a pursuit worthy of their serious attention.

Before I proceed further I shall, therefore, have no scruple in laying before my readers an outline of the principal standards used for weighing the precious metals about the time of the first invention of coining. This will consist in the main of the results at which Brandis and other metrologists have arrived. In this outline I will endeavour to be as concise as is possible consistently with clearness.

## § 2. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK WEIGHT-SYSTEMS.

THE Assyrian weights in the form of bronze lions and stone ducks, found by Layard among the ruins of ancient Nineveh, led to the discovery of the weight of the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian talents. These appear to have existed in a double form, the one talent being just double the weight of the other. It is supposed that the heavier talent was the older of the two, and originally in use in the Empire of the Assyrians, and probably also throughout the whole of Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia.

The lighter talent is known by the name of the Babylonian, and although both may have been in use in Nineveh, the lighter form would seem to have been more generally accepted in Babylon.<sup>1</sup>

The system according to which these talents were subdivided was the sexagesimal, the talent being composed of 60 minæ, and the mina of 60 shekels, the shekel being again divided into 30 parts.

This sexagesimal system which pervaded the whole of the Assyrian weights and measures, both of space, of material, and of time, in which latter it has maintained itself down to our own times, is for practical employment in weighing and measuring decidedly preferable both to the decimal and to the duodecimal, because the number upon which it is based possesses a far greater power of divisibility. The heavier of the two minæ, weighing 1,010 grammes, seems to have passed by land through Syria into the Phœnician coast-towns, and by the Phœnician

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<sup>1</sup> Brandis, p. 45.

traders to have been spread among the islands of the *Ægean* and the towns upon its coasts.

The lighter mina, weighing 505 grammes, found its way into the kingdom of Lydia, whose capital Sardes was intimately connected on the land side with Babylon, with which it was in constant commercial intercourse.<sup>2</sup>

From these two points, Phœnicia on the one hand and Lydia on the other, the Greeks of Asia Minor received the two units of weight on which the whole fabric of their coinage rests.

How long before the invention of coining these Assyrian and Babylonian weights had found their way into Greece, it is impossible to say. It is probable, however, that the Greeks had long been familiar with them, and that the small bars of gold and silver, which served the purposes of a currency, were regulated according to the weight of the sixtieth part of the Babylonian mina. It is true that, not bearing the guarantee of the State, it was necessary to put them into the scales and weigh them, like all other materials bought and sold by weight, whenever they passed from the hands of one merchant to those of

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<sup>2</sup> Heeren, *Ideen, &c.* Göttingen, 1815. Th. i. Abth. ii. *Handel der Babylonier*, p. 199. All the Assyrian and Babylonian standard weights in the British Museum have recently been accurately re-weighed in a balance of precision, under the direction of the Warden of the Standards. This verification has proved that Dr. Brandis was in the main right in assuming 1,010 and 505 grammes as the weights of the two minæ. It is nevertheless probable that during the extended period from 2000—625 B.C., the weights of these minæ varied from 1040—960, and from 520 to 460 grammes respectively. The evidence of the coins, however, tends to show that about the time when the Greeks first became familiar with them, their weights were, as Dr. Brandis supposed, 1,010 and 505 grammes. See the Ninth Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards for 1874—5. London. 1875.

another ; thus, although the invention of coining brought with it no essential change in the conditions of commercial intercourse, the precious metals having for ages previously been looked upon as measures of value, it nevertheless enormously facilitated such intercourse, rendering needless the cumbrous and lengthy process of weighing out the gold or silver to be received in exchange for any given commodity.

The accepted value of gold as compared with silver was in these times, and for long afterwards, as  $13\frac{1}{3}$  is to 1 ;<sup>3</sup> and from this relation of gold to silver the standard by which the latter metal was weighed seems to have been developed in the following manner. The proportion of 13·3 to 1 made it inconvenient to weigh the two metals according to one and the same standard, as in that case a given weight in gold would not have been exchangeable for a round number of bars of silver, but for thirteen and one-third of such bars ; hence, in order to facilitate the exchange of the two metals, the weight of the silver stater was raised above that of the gold stater, in order that the gold sixtieth might be easily convertible into a round number of silver staters.

Now the sixtieth of the heavy gold Assyrian mina was a piece weighing about 260 grains. Dividing this piece again by sixty, we obtain a minute gold piece weighing only 4·3 grains ; if we multiply this by 13·3, the proportionate value of silver to gold, we arrive at a unit in silver of about 57 grains. Thus arose the silver drachm introduced by the Phœnicians into Greece, upon which the so-called Asiatic or Phœnician silver standard is based. According to the sexagesimal system, its value was that of

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<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *Grenzboten*, 1868, No. 10, p. 397.



the sixtieth part of the sixtieth of the gold mina. Four of these silver sixtieths formed a piece of metal weighing about 230 grains (maximum). This became the stater of the Phœnician silver standard, and as fifteen of these staters go to form one gold sixtieth, this standard has been designated by Brandis as the fifteen-stater standard.

The people of Lydia, adopting a different method, arrived at a different result. We have seen that at Sardes the light Babylonian gold mina, travelling by land, had become domesticated in the country. The sixtieth of this mina, weighing 130 grains, multiplied by 13·3, yields about 1,729 grains of silver. Applying to this silver-weight a decimal division, they arrived at a convenient silver stater of about 170 grains, and as ten of these pieces constitute one gold sixtieth, this standard has been called by Brandis the ten-stater standard.<sup>4</sup>

As the Phœnicians had penetrated everywhere, establishing, with their accustomed enterprise, their factories on almost every coast, they soon discovered the metallic wealth of the land, and began to work for the first time the veins of silver which had lain for ages unsuspected in the mountains. Hence, little by little, the Phœnician silver weight became widely known throughout the Greek world. The Babylonian silver standard, on the other hand, outside the kingdom of Lydia, was hardly known at all until after the Persian conquest, when it was adopted for the silver currency of the empire and its dependent satraps.

The Greeks, however, when they first struck coins of

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<sup>4</sup> Both the fifteen and the ten stater standard are thus based upon one and the same unit, viz., a piece of about 57 grains. This is the third part of the stater of 170 grains, and the fourth part of the stater of 230 grains. We therefore see why the former of these staters is regularly divided into three and the latter into two and four parts (Brandis, p. 58).

silver did not everywhere adopt the prevalent Phœnician standard. Chalcis and Eretria, perhaps the most important commercial cities of European Greece, had established, as early as the eighth century B.C., an active maritime trade with the opposite coasts of Asia Minor, and from these coasts they received the Babylonian gold mina with its sixtieth, viz., 130 grains. As there was little or no gold on their own side of the sea, while silver, on the other hand, flowed into Eubœa from her colonies in the mining districts of Macedon and Thrace, the cities of that island transferred to silver the standard with which they had become familiar in their commerce with the Ionian towns, and on this Babylonian gold standard they struck their earliest silver staters, weighing 130 grains. Their example was soon followed by Corinth, and thenceforward the Babylonian origin of this weight was lost sight of by the Greeks, and the name of the Euboic talent was applied by them to the old Babylonian gold weight; all coins, whether of gold or silver, struck not only in Greece but in the East on this weight, being said to follow the Euboic standard. The name of the Babylonian standard, nevertheless, remained in use for the Lydian and Persian silver weight which had been developed by the Lydians out of the gold mina. By the Babylonian talent the Greeks therefore understood a silver standard, the stater of which weighed 170 grains, while by the Euboic talent they understood a standard used either for silver or for gold, the stater of which weighed 130 grains.

At the commencement of the seventh century B.C., or in other words about the time when the Greeks of Asia Minor or the Lydians first hit upon the idea of stamping the bars of metal with official marks as guarantees of

their weight and value, the following were therefore the weights generally current in commercial intercourse :—

(a)

- (i.) The 60th of the heavy Assyrian mina in gold, weighing 260 grains. This weight had found its way through Syria and Phœnicia to the coasts of Asia Minor. The earliest coins of this class are said to have been issued at Phocæa. Hence the earliest gold stators of 256 grains (maximum), with their subdivisions, have been designated as of the Phocæic standard.
- (ii.) The corresponding silver piece of 230 grains, fifteen of which were equal in value to one Phocæic gold stator. This weight, which also was of Phœnician origin, was adopted by many of the coast towns of Asia Minor for their silver currency. The actual weight of the coins of this standard seldom came up to the normal weight of 230 grains, 220 grains being about the average. As the earliest coins of this standard were also struck by Greek cities of Asia Minor, it has obtained the name of the Asiatic standard. Brandis calls it the Fifteen-stater standard.
- (iii.) The weight adopted by Pheidon, when, some time before the middle of the 7th century, he first instituted a mint in the island of Ægina. This appears to be only a degradation of the Phœnician silver standard,<sup>5</sup> the maximum weight of the earliest Æginetic stators being as high as 212 grains, though the average weight is not more than about 190 grains. The Æginetic standard in the earliest times was prevalent throughout the Pælo-

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<sup>5</sup> Brandis ingeniously develops the Æginetic silver standard out of the electrum stator of 220 grains in the following manner. In the first place, he supposes the electrum stator to contain about one-third of silver, he then takes what remains of pure gold, viz., about 146 grains, the silver equivalent of which, according to the recognised proportionate value of the two metals, is 1,941 grains of silver, or just ten Æginetic silver stators of 194 grains.

It is simpler, in my opinion, to suppose the Æginetic standard to be merely a reduced or lighter form of the Phœnician, and the fact that some of the earlier stators of Ægina weigh as much as 212 grains, of which Brandis does not seem to have been aware, is in favour of this standard being the result of a gradual reduction.

ponnesus, in the Chalcidian colonies of Italy and Sicily, in Crete, on the Cyclades, especially Ceos, Naxos, and Siphnos, and even in certain towns in Asia Minor, among which Teos, and perhaps Cyme, may be mentioned, as well as in many other localities which need not be here particularised.

( $\beta$ )

- (iv.) The 60th of the light Babylonian gold mina, which had found its way by land from the banks of the Euphrates to Sardes, and from Sardes probably through Samos to the important commercial cities of Eubœa, Chalcis and Eretria, where silver coins of 180 grains were first issued. This weight, whether used for silver, as in Greece, or for gold, as in the East, went by the name of the Euboic standard.
- (v.) The corresponding silver piece of 170 grains, ten of which were equal in value to one Euboic gold stater of 180 grains. This weight being first met with in the silver coinage of the Lydians, who had doubtless derived it from Babylon, retained its original name, and was known as the Babylonian silver standard. It has been designated by Brandis as the Ten-stater standard.

In the preceding survey of the weights of the various staters in gold and silver current among the ancient inhabitants of Asia and Greece in the seventh century, I have, for the sake of clearness, omitted to mention that the Greeks, in adopting the sixtieth part of the ancient Babylonian mina as their stater, whether of gold or silver, did not also adopt the sexagesimal system in its entirety, but constituted new minæ for themselves, consisting of fifty staters instead of sixty. Thus the Greek stater was identical with the Assyrian and Babylonian sixtieth, but the Greek mina was not identical with the Assyrian mina, since it contained but fifty of these units. On the other hand, the Greek talent contained, like the Assyrian, sixty minæ, though only 3,000 instead of 3,600 staters.

## § 3. ELECTRUM.

BESIDES gold and silver, a third precious metal was known to the ancients, which as early as the time of Sophocles<sup>6</sup> was known by the name of electrum. It was also called white gold,<sup>7</sup> and appears to have been always looked upon as a distinct metal.<sup>8</sup> Electrum was obtained in large quantities from the washings of the Pactolus and from the mines on Tmolus and Sipylus. It was composed of about three parts of gold and one part of silver. It therefore stood in an entirely different relation to silver from that of pure gold, the latter being to silver as 13·3 to 1, while electrum was about 10 to 1.

This natural compound of gold and silver possessed several advantages for purposes of coining over gold, which, as might have been expected, were not overlooked by a people endowed in so high a degree with commercial instincts as were the inhabitants of the coast towns of Asia Minor. In the first place it was more durable, being harder and less subject to wear; secondly it was more easily obtainable, being found in large quantities in the immediate neighbourhood; and, lastly, standing as it did in the simple relation of 10 to 1 as regards silver, it rendered needless the use of a different standard of weight for the two metals, enabling the authorities of the mint to make use of one set of weights and a decimal system easy of comprehension and simple in practice.

On this account electrum was weighed according to the

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<sup>6</sup> Soph. Ant. 1037 Κρδεάινει', ἐμπολάτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεισθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν · κ.τ.λ.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. i. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Brandis, p. 165.

silver standard, and the electrum stater was consequently equivalent to ten silver staters of the same weight. The weight of the electrum stater in each town or district thus depended upon the standard which happened to be in use there for silver bullion or silver bar-money, the practice of the new invention of stamping metal for circulation being in the first instance only applied to the more precious of the two metals, the electrum stater representing in a conveniently small compass a weight of silver bullion ten times as bulky and ten times as difficult of transport. Once, however, in general use, the extension to silver and to gold of the new invention of coining could not be long delayed.

As the standards according to which bullion silver was weighed were various in different localities, having been developed, as we have seen above, by different methods out of the sixtieth parts of the heavy and the light Babylonian gold minæ, so also were the earliest electrum staters of different weights, depending everywhere upon silver and not upon gold. Consequently, as might have been expected, we meet with electrum coins of the Phœnician, the Æginetic, the Babylonian, and the Euboic systems. These I propose to consider in the following order:—

- i. Babylonian.
- ii. Asiatic or Phœnician.
- iii. Æginetic.
- iv. Euboic.
- v. Phœnician.

The coins of the so-called Phœnician system stand on a somewhat different footing. This standard, as we have seen above, was not a silver standard, but a gold one, based upon the sixtieth of the heavy Babylonian mina, weighing about 260 grains; hence the electrum coins which follow

this standard are clearly distinguishable, not only by their weight but by their colour, from the electrum of the four silver standards. Whether they ought to be included under the heading of electrum is almost a question, for the majority of these coins approach more nearly to gold in colour, and they were probably intended to circulate as gold, the metal of which they are composed not being the natural electrum, as found in Lydia, but an artificial compound, the use of which, as representing gold, may have been a source of considerable profit to the State.

#### I. BABYLONIC.

Of this class I know of only a single electrum stater, which may be thus described, and which I would attribute to Lydia—

*Obv.*—Plain. (Typus fasciatus.)

*Rev.*—Three incuse depressions; that in the centre oblong, the others square. Wt. 166·8. Pl. VII. 1.

There appears to have existed in the Lydian kingdom, before the time of Crœsus, a twofold coinage in electrum—that is to say, that electrum staters were struck at the same time upon two distinct standards, the staters of which weighed respectively 167 and 220 grains. This unusual circumstance can only be accounted for on the supposition that the staters of 220 grains were intended to circulate in the Ionian coast towns where the Phœnician standard prevailed, and the stater of 167 grains in the interior of Asia and in commerce with the East. This twofold currency is quite in conformity with the intermediate position of the Lydian Empire, which was, as long as it lasted, a connecting link between the Greeks of the coast and the vast empires of the interior.

If we grant that the relation of pure gold to silver was at this time about 13·3 to 1, that of electrum to silver would be about 10 to 1, which accounts for the fact that electrum and silver staters are constantly coined according to the same weights. The electrum coinage in most cases probably preceded the coinage in silver, and may have given rise to the weights on which the silver coins were struck. Thus the above-mentioned electrum stater of 167 grains would be equal to ten Babylonian silver staters of the same weight, and on this account it is probably Lydian, in which country, from the time of Cræsus, silver was struck on this standard. Cræsus, as we have seen, on his accession, found two electrum staters current in his kingdom, the one weighing 220 grains for the commerce with the Greeks, and the other 167 grains for the inland trade. A great reform in the coinage would seem to have been introduced under the rule of Cræsus; the coinage in electrum was entirely abolished, and in its place a double currency in pure gold and in silver was issued. In the introduction of this new coinage, regard, however, seems to have been had to the weight of the previously current electrum staters, each of which was thenceforth represented by an equal value, though of course not by an equal weight, of pure gold; thus the old Græco-Asiatic electrum stater of 220 grains was replaced by a new pure gold stater of 167 grains, equivalent, like its predecessor in electrum, to ten Græco-Asiatic silver staters, as current in the coast towns, and the old Babylonian electrum stater of 167 grains was replaced by a new pure gold stater of 125 grains, equal in value, like it, to ten silver staters of 167 grains. This latter gold piece of 125 grains ultimately superseded the heavier coin of



167 grains, and became in course of time the prototype of the Persian daric.

The following table of the ancient Lydian coins may serve to make this reform in the imperial coinage more clear to the mind of the student :—

### LYDIA. BEFORE CRESUS.

#### ELECTRUM.

##### (i.) *Babylonian Standard.*

Wt.	Obverse.	Reverse.
166·8 (Stater.)	Plain ( <i>typus fasciatus</i> ).	Three incuse depressions; that in the centre oblong, the others square.
	[Pl. VII. 1.]	

##### (ii.) *Asiatic Standard.*

El. 215·4 (Stater.)	Fore-parts of lion and bull turned away from each other, and joined by their necks.	Three incuse depressions; that in the centre oblong, the others square.
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[Pl. VII. 2.]

El. 219 (Stater.)	Two lions' heads facing, joined by their necks.	Same.
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[Brandis, p. 386.]

### LYDIA. TIME OF CRESUS, B.C. 560—546.

#### PURE GOLD AND SILVER COINAGE.

##### (i.) *Babylonian Standard.*

N. 165	Fore-parts of lion and bull facing each other.	Oblong incuse, divided into two portions.	N. stat.=El. 220 grs.
	[Brandis, p. 386.]		
N. 56	Same.	Same.	$\frac{1}{2}$ N. stat.=El. 73 „
	[Brandis, p. 386.]		
N. 28	Same.	Same.	$\frac{1}{3}$ N. stat.=El. 37 „
	[Brandis, p. 386.]		
N. 14	Same.	Same.	$\frac{1}{4}$ N. stat.=El. 18 „
	[Brandis, p. 386.]		

##### (ii.) *Euboic Standard.*

N. 125	Same.	Same.	N. stat.=El. 167 „
	[Pl. X. 1.]		

	Wt.		Obverse.	Reverse.
<i>N.</i>	42	Same.		Same. $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>N.</i> stat.=El. 56 grs.*
			[Pl. X. 2.]	
<i>N.</i>	21	Same.		Same. $\frac{1}{6}$ <i>N.</i> stat.=El. 28 „ *
			[Brandis, p. 387.]	
<i>N.</i>	11	Same.		Same. $\frac{1}{12}$ <i>N.</i> stat.=El. 14 „ *
			[Brandis, p. 387.]	

(i.) *Babylonian Standard.*

<i>Al.</i>	165	Same.		Same. <i>Al.</i> stat.= <i>N.</i> $125 \div 10$
			[Pl. X. 3.]	
<i>Al.</i>	84	Same.		Same. <i>Al.</i> Dr.= <i>N.</i> $125 \div 20$
			[Pl. X. 4.]	
<i>Al.</i>	55	Same.		Same. $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>Al.</i> stat.= <i>N.</i> $125 \div 30$
			[Brandis, p. 387.]	
<i>Al.</i>	12 ?	Same.		Same. $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>Al.</i> stat.= <i>Al.</i> $165 \div 14$ ?
			[Pl. X. 5.]	

## II. ASIATIC.

The second series of early electrum money is known by the name of Asiatic, Græco-Asiatic, or Phœnician. The staters of this system weigh 220 grains maximum. It appears to have been of Phœnician or Syrian origin, or, at any rate, to have been introduced by the Phœnician traders into the Ionian coast towns, where it took firm root, and whence it spread, mainly through the commercial activity of the Milesians, on the one side to Thrace and Macedon for silver, and on the other to Ægina, if we may look upon the coinage of that island in electrum and silver as a modification or lighter form of the same standard.

The primitive electrum staters of the Asiatic standard are characterized by the peculiar triple indentation of the reverses, consisting of an oblong incuse depression between two square ones. Of this pattern we possess electrum

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\* Coins of 56, 28, and 14 grains were probably not struck in electrum, as the system by which the electrum stater was divided was by 3, 6, 12, &c., not by 2, 4, and 8.

staters with the lion of Miletus (Pl. VII. 3), the stag of Ephesus (Pl. VII. 4), the half-horse of Cyme (Brandis, p. 390), the bull (Brandis, p. 401, under Samos), and the Chimæra,<sup>9</sup> the two last-mentioned types being of uncertain attribution. From these Ionian coast-towns the Asiatic stater spread along the valleys of the Mæander, the Cayster, and the Hermus, into the heart of Lydia, and, as we have seen in the previous section, was adopted in the Lydian capital before the time of Cræsus, where it took its place side by side with the Babylonian stater, which latter had arrived at Sardes from the land-side by means of the great caravan route from the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The following towns adopted the Græco-Asiatic stater at a somewhat later date; for their reverses are no longer of the primitive form indicated above, but exhibit the ordinary incuse square sometimes divided into four quarters. The character of the work upon the obverses of these later coins is more advanced than that of the extremely archaic staters of Miletus, Ephesus, Cyme, and Sardes. Of this later class coins are known with the sphinx of Chios (Pl. VII. 6), the half-bull with head turned back of Samos (Pl. VII. 5), the winged boar of Clazomenæ (Brandis, p. 392), the cow and calf of doubtful attribution,<sup>10</sup> and lastly the sea-horse of Lampsacus,

<sup>9</sup> This coin, which is in the British Museum, has been described by Brandis (p. 402) as bearing the type of a chimæra. I must confess, however, that it does not seem to me to be a Chimæra, but rather a lion, in which case there can be little doubt that Miletus is the city to which it should be attributed.

<sup>10</sup> This stater, on account of its type—a cow suckling her calf—(Brandis, p. 402) would seem to have some connection with the island of Eubœa and should be perhaps attributed to some Eubœan colony on the Asiatic coast, *e.g.* Cyme in Æolis, or Chalcis in the neighbourhood of Teos and Erythræ. It is noticeable that silver staters of Euboic weight also exist having on the obverse a cow and calf, and on the reverse a star

and the eagle of Abydos (Pl. VII. 7, 8). Abydos and Lampsacus were settlements of Miletus, situated on the Hellespont, and were of the utmost importance to the mother city in her trade with the Black Sea, as harbours of safety. We thus perceive how it was that the Milesian electrum stater became domesticated at these two northern stations. But in all these cities, except perhaps Samos, the coinage in electrum belongs to a very early period, and cannot in my opinion have long survived the reorganization of the Lydian coinage by Cræsus. Roughly speaking, the coinage of electrum on the Asiatic standard may have lasted a little more than a century and a half, commencing about B.C. 700, and ending with the conquest of Samos by the Persians in B.C. 520. The Asiatic stater of 220 grains was doubtless the prototype of the silver stater of the same weight, which afterwards obtained such a wide circulation, not only on the west coast of Asia Minor, but in Thrace and Macedon (Brandis, pp. 134—136); and in those few instances where the two coinages in electrum and silver were contemporary, the electrum stater would have exchanged for ten silver pieces of the same weight.

Several half-staters of this standard are to be found in the British Museum and other collections; but the only one which can be attributed with any degree of certainty

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as on some of the early coins of Erythræ. I am therefore rather inclined to fix upon Chalcis in the vicinity of Erythræ as the place where both electrum and silver may have been coined. See also Köhler *Gesch. d. Delisch-Attischen Bundes*, p. 155. "Im xxiv. J. [B.C. 481—430] haben sie [viz., the Erythræans] gemeinschaftlich gezahlt mit einem andern Ort, vielleicht X[αλκιδῆς], welchen Namen Böckh an einer andern Stelle herstellen wollte. Er versteht einen Ort in der Landschaft Χαλκίτις, von der er vermuthet, sie sei zum Theil erythræisch, zum Theil teisch gewesen. Vgl. Pausan. vii. 5. 5. Strab. xiv. 644, c. 1, Gr. II., p. 651."

is a piece of Miletus weighing 107 grains. *Obv.*—Lion recumbent right, with head turned to left, within a quadrilateral frame. *Rev.*—Three incuse depressions as on the earliest staters, but each containing a type, the upper square a stag's head, the oblong incuse in the centre, an animal like a fox running to the left, and the lower square an ornament, ✕, which may perhaps be a mark of value, signifying that the coin is worth five silver staters of about 216 grains (Pl. VIII. 4). This at any rate would be the exact value of the coin, and the ornament might, I think, be thus interpreted without any too violent stretch of the imagination, were it not that another half-stater of like weight has on the reverse the mark ✕ (Pl. VIII. 3), which, if also a mark of value, must be taken to signify that the coin was exchangeable for four pieces of silver of about 270 grains, in which case we should have to attribute it to some district where silver was issued according to the Euboic standard, an inference which seems scarcely probable, and which consequently casts much doubt upon the interpretation of these ornaments as marks of value.

The stag's head in the upper incuse square of the first of these half-staters may indicate that the coin was payable at the treasury of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, or perhaps that it was struck under the joint authority of Miletus, Ephesus, and some other town or temple, the last of which is symbolized by the fox-like animal in the central incuse.

Thirds also exist of several towns, among which may be mentioned Cyzicus (Brandis, p. 388), Dardanus (Pl. VIII. 8), Ephesus (Pl. VIII. 6, 7), Miletus (Pl. VIII. 9), and Samos (Brandis, p. 401.) Those of Ephesus are so pale in colour that they might perhaps be considered rather as of silver than of electrum, although, as far as I am aware,

silver coins of this weight are never found elsewhere. The obverse type of these coins is a bee, while the reverse bears an oblong incuse divided into two parts, as on the electrum thirds of the other cities mentioned above. They are therefore clearly contemporary with the others, and must have passed current either as electrum thirds, or as silver, at the rate of 10 to 1 against the electrum pieces of the other cities of the same weight, in which case they would be thirds of the silver stater of 220 grains, and altogether an exceptional coinage, the Asiatic silver stater being everywhere divided into halves and quarters, the division by three being peculiar to gold and electrum, and to the silver stater of the Babylonian standard of 170 grains. On this account it is perhaps safer to include them in the electrum series, in spite of the very pale colour of the metal of which they are composed.

Of the smaller divisions, Fourths only occur at Miletus (Brit. Mus.) and Chios (Brandis, p. 400). Sixths are more common and are found at Ephesus (Pl. VIII. 10), Miletus (Pl. VIII. 11), Clazomenæ (Pl. VIII. 12), Cebrenia (Brandis, p. 389), Samos (Brandis, p. 401), Cos (Brandis p. 401), and other places. In addition to the above, it will be seen from the following table of Asiatic electrum coins that Eighths, Twelfths, Twenty-fourths, Forty-eighths and Ninety-sixths also occur, the last mentioned minute piece weighing only about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and being equivalent in value to exactly one-tenth part of the silver stater.

## ASIATIC STANDARD.

## EARLY PERIOD. STATERS.

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
215·3	Miletus.	Fore-part of lion, right; star on forehead.	Three incuse depres- sions; that in the cen- tre oblong, the others square.

[Pl. VII. 3.]

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
217·8	Miletus	Lion recumbent, right, looking left. [Brandis, p. 402, described as a Chimæra.]	Similar, but incuses containing ornaments.
218	„	Lion recumbent, left, looking right, within an oblong frame. [Brandis, p. 394.]	Three incuse depressions, that in the centre oblong, the others square.
217	Ephesus.	ΑΜΕΖΙΜΕΨΙΟΝΘΑΦ. Stag feeding. <sup>11</sup> [Pl. VII. 4.]	Similar.
220	Cyme.	Fore-part of bridled horse, right; above, flower. [Brandis, p. 390.]	Similar.
216	Uncertain. (Calchedon ?)	Bull walking, right, head lowered. [Brandis, p. 401; Lenormant, Mon. des Lagides, Pl. VIII. 8.]	Similar, but incuses containing ornaments.
215·4	Sardes.]	Fore-parts of lion and bull turned away from each other, and joined by their necks. [Pl. VII. 2.]	Three incuse depressions, that in the centre oblong, the others square.
219	„	Two lions' heads facing, joined by their necks. [Brandis, p. 386.]	Same.
LATER PERIOD. STATERS.			
217	Chios.	Sphinx seated, right. [Pl. VII. 6.]	Incuse square, quartered.
214	„	Same. [Brandis, p. 399.]	Similar, but three quarters again divided diagonally.
217	Clazomenæ.	Fore-part of winged boar, right. [Brandis, p. 392.]	Incuse square, quartered.
216	Uncertain (Chalcis Ioniæ ?)	Cow suckling calf; flower and ear of corn. [Brandis, p. 402.]	Incuse square.

<sup>11</sup> This is the earliest inscribed coin known to exist. For the meaning of the legend see Mr. Newton's article in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. x. p. 237.

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
214	Lampsacus.	Fore-part of sea-horse, left; above, flower. [Pl. VII. 8.]	Incuse square, quartered.
217	Abydos.	Eagle standing, left; in front, dolphin. [Pl. VII. 7.]	Incuse square.

## TIME OF POLYCRATES. STATER.

217	Samos.	Fore-part of bull, right, looking back. [Pl. VII. 5.]	Incuse square; quartered. <sup>12</sup>
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## HALF-STATERS. EARLY PERIOD.

105·8	Uncertain.	Plain. ( <i>Typus fasciatus</i> .)	Three incuse depressions; that in the centre oblong, the others square. (Double struck.)
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[Pl. VIII. 1.]

107	Miletus.	Lion recumbent, right, looking left, within oblong frame.	Similar, but each sinking containing a type: the upper, square, a stag's head; the central, oblong, a fox running, left; the lower, square, an ornament
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[Pl. VIII. 4.]

110·1	Uncertain.	Raised square.	Incuse square, containing cuneiform ornaments, arranged thus
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[Pl. VIII. 2.]

<sup>12</sup> The issue of Samian electrum on the Asiatic standard is to be distinguished from the earlier coinage of the island which followed the Euboic standard (see below, p. 276—278). It is probable that in the time of Polycrates, when the Samians obtained dominion over the entire Ægean (Euseb. Chron. II. Ed. Mai. Milan, 1818, p. 334) in B.C. 530, they likewise succeeded to the position previously occupied by Miletus, and that Samos, until the time of its conquest by the Persians in B.C. 520, remained the chief if not the only place of mintage for Asiatic electrum.



Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
108.6	Uncertain.	Round shield? in high relief, divided diagonally by two broad bands. [Pl. VIII. 3.]	Incuse square, containing an ornament, thus ✕
110.2	Uncertain.	Incuse square containing cuneiform ornaments. "Name of Cyrus"?? [Brandis, p. 402; Lenormant, Mon. des Lagides. Pl. VIII. 9.]	Incuse square, containing cuneiform ornaments.

## THIRDS.

73	Cyzicus.	<del>FRVEE</del> . left. <sup>13</sup> [Brandis, p. 388.]	Lion's head, Oblong incuse, divided into two parts.
73.1	Dardanus or Selymbria?	Cock and Hen. [Pl. VIII. 8.]	Same.
71	Uncertain (Lesbos?)	Raised square, quartered. [Pl. VIII. 5.]	Same.
71	Ephesus.	Bee in linear square. [Pl. VIII. 6.]	Same.
67.8	"	Similar. [Pl. VIII. 7.]	Similar.
71	Miletus.	Lion lying, left, looking right. [Brandis, p. 394.]	Two incuse squares, one containing a star (both ornamented).
73	"	Lion's head with open jaws; above, star. [Pl. VIII. 9.]	Oblong incuse, divided into two parts.
73	Samos.	Lion's scalp facing.	Oblong incuse, divided into two parts.
72	"	Same. [Brandis, p. 401.]	Same.

## FOURTHS.

48.9	Miletus.	Lion's head with open jaws; above, star. [Brit. Mus.]	Oblong incuse, divided into two parts.
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<sup>13</sup> The attribution of this coin to Cyzicus rests upon the inscription solely. Vide Brandis, p. 177, note 1.

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
56·4	Chios.	Sphinx, left.	Two incuse depressions, adorned with stars and flowers.
[Brandis, p. 400.]			

## SIXTHS.

36	Ephesus.	Fore-part of stag, left; in front, three pellets. [Pl. VIII. 10.]	Incuse square, covered with lines.
37	Miletus.	Lion's head, right; in front, inscription? [Pl. VIII. 11.]	Oblong incuse, divided into two parts.
37	Miletus.	Lion's head with open jaws; above, star.	Same.
35·7 (Plated?)	„	Lion's head, left.	Incuse square, contain- ing star.
[Brandis, p. 395.]			

35·9	Clazomenæ (?)	⏏ΑΑ[Υ]. Boar's head, right. [Pl. VIII. 12.]	Two incuse squares of different sizes.
37	Uncertain.	Plain ( <i>typus fasciatus</i> ). [Pl. VIII. 13.]	Same.
36·3	Cebrenia.	Ram's head, left. [Brandis, p. 389.]	Incuse square.
36	Samos.	Lion's scalp, facing. [Brandis, p. 401.]	Oblong incuse.
35	Cos.	Crab. [Brandis, p. 401.]	Incuse square.
36	Uncertain.	Fore-part of lion, up- right, with open jaws, left, one paw raised. [Brandis, p. 402.]	Incuse square.
38	Uncertain.	Horse's head, left. [Brandis, p. 402.]	Incuse square.
30 (Plated)	Uncertain.	Beardless head, right, of archaic style. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.

## EIGHTH.

26·5	Uncertain.	Shield? ornamented with three crescents, back to back, contain- ing dots. [Pl. VIII. 14.]	Incuse square.
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Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
TWELFTHS.			
18·1	Miletus.	Lion's head, right, with open jaws; above, star. [Brandis, p. 395.]	Incuse square.
18·4	Ephesus.	Fore-part of stag, right, looking back. [Brandis, p. 393.]	Incuse square.
18	Chios.	Griffin, left; beneath, X [Brandis, p. 400.]	Incuse square, ornamented with star or flower.
17·7	Samos.	Lion's scalp, facing. [Pl. VIII. 15.]	Incuse square.
18	Uncertain.	Plain ( <i>typus fasciatus</i> ). [Brandis, p. 402.]	Incuse square.
18·5	Uncertain.	Lion's head, facing. [Bank of Eng'land.]	Incuse square.
14	Cebrenia.	Ram's head, right. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.
TWENTY-FOURTHS.			
9·3	Miletus?	Lion's head, right.	Incuse square, quartered.
8·8	Cebrenia.	Ram's head, right. [Brit. Mus.]	Irregular incuse square.
9·7	"	" [Brandis, p. 389.]	" "
9·3	Uncertain.	Horse's head, left. [Brandis, p. 402.]	Incuse square.
9·5	Uncertain.	Boar? right. [Brandis, p. 402.]	Same.
8·9	Uncertain.	Irregular lumps. [Brit. Mus.]	Same.
9	Uncertain.	Plain ( <i>typus fasciatus</i> ). [Brit. Mus.]	Same.
6.	Uncertain.	Beardless head, left, of archaic style.	Incuse square.
FORTY-EIGHTHS.			
4·1	Abydos.	Eagle, right, looking back. [Brandis, p. 389.]	Incuse square.

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
4·8	Miletus.	Lion's head, right; star over forehead. [Brandis, p. 395.]	Same.
4·7	Uncertain.	Head of eagle or fish. [Brandis, p. 402.]	Incuse square.
4·1	Uncertain.	Flower.	Star-formed sinking with central boss.

[Brit. Mus., Newton, Discoveries at Halicarnassus, vol. ii., part ii., p. 684.]

## NINETY-SIXTHS.

2·9	Erosus.	Barleycorn. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse.
1·9	Cos.	Crab. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.

## III. ÆGINETIC.

In addition to the Ionian maritime towns the Asiatic electrum stater would seem to have found its way across the Ægean to the island of Ægina, where it was probably introduced by the Phœnician or Ionian traders. A specimen is preserved of this coinage in the Paris collection, weighing 207 grains, and bearing the figure of a tortoise, the symbol of the Phœnician goddess of the sea and of trade (Pl. VIII. 16). This remarkable coin is somewhat lighter than the corresponding pieces as struck on the Asiatic coast, and this is perhaps the reason why the Æginetan silver when first coined by Pheidon of Argos was of a lighter standard than the Asiatic silver of the opposite coast. The earliest Æginetan silver coins, judging from the heaviest specimen in the British Museum, weighed about 212 grains, and would consequently have exchanged with the electrum in the proportion of 10 to 1, a rate which thus seems to have been universal between electrum and silver, for in every instance where a primitive electrum coinage existed, it was followed and generally replaced by a silver coin identical in weight, as

we have seen in the case of the Lydian electrum of 167 grains and of the Asiatic electrum of 220 grains, and as we shall presently see was also the case with the Euboic electrum of 130 grains. The following are the only genuine coins of electrum which can in my judgment be assigned to the island of Ægina.

#### ÆGINETIC STANDARD.

		STATER (circ. 212 grs.)	
207	Ægina.	Tortoise.	Incuse square, divided into two parts.
		[Pl. VIII. 16. Par. Mus.] <sup>14</sup>	
		FOURTH (circ. 54—48 grs.)	
43·8	Ægina.	Tortoise.	Incuse square.
		[Pl. VIII. 17. Brit. Mus.]	
		TWELFTH (circ. 16 grs.)	
11·8	Ægina.	Tortoise ?	Incuse square.
		[Pl. VIII. 18. Bank of England.]	

#### IV. EUBOIC.

No electrum coins have up to the present been assigned by metrologists to the Euboic standard. I have nevertheless no hesitation in separating as Euboic certain pieces, some of which are now for the first time published, while others have hitherto been classed among the Phocaic. The earliest coins of the Phocaic standard are staters of 256 grains (maximum), and are of comparatively pure gold, having been intended as I think to circulate as such, and at the rate of 13·3 as regards silver. The coins which I

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<sup>14</sup> For an impression of this unique and highly interesting coin, as well as for that of the Euboic double stater (Pl. IX. 1), I am indebted to the kindness of M. Chabouillet, Conservateur du Département des Médailles à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

would class as Euboic are, on the contrary, of the usual pale-coloured electrum, standing in the proportion of 10 to 1 to silver, and though scarcely distinguishable in weight from Phocaic gold, may I think be included in a separate category. We have seen that in every district where silver was coined, whether on the Babylonie, the Asiatic, or the Æginetic standard, a previous electrum coinage had existed, the staters of which weighed 167, 220, and 207 grains respectively. Arguing from analogy, we might expect to find that the Euboic silver stater of 130 grains as first issued in Chalcis and Eretria, had also been preceded by an electrum coinage of like weight; and that such a coinage actually existed, not only in Eubœa but on the opposite coasts of the Ægean, is I am inclined to think capable of proof. Before describing the electrum coins of this standard, it may be perhaps of use to remind my readers of the important position occupied by Chalcis and Eretria as trading cities in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

These two cities, although in population they may not have rivalled the more celebrated cities of Corinth or Athens, were yet more influential than either of them in spreading Greek culture and Greek ideas over the ancient world. They were the great rivals of Miletus, and the starting-points of the colonists bound for the shores of Italy and Sicily and the northern coasts of the Ægean. The peninsula of Chalcidice, from the number of Chalcidian colonies which it had received, was named after their mother city. The colonies of Eretria were hardly less numerous, and were for the most part dotted about the promontory of Pallene and round the foot of Mount Athos. These two towns were, according to Grote, "the most powerful and enterprising Ionic cities in European

Greece, apparently surpassing Athens and not inferior to Samos and Miletus." Their ships covered the seas and carried the native copper ore of Eubœa, for which Chalcis was so famous and from which its name was derived, to the coasts of Asia, of Thrace, of Italy, and of Sicily, bringing back in exchange the products of every land. The precious metals in particular flowed plentifully into the island of Eubœa—the gold of the East, the electrum of Sardes, and especially silver from the highlands of Chalcidice, in which district no less than thirty-two towns, chiefly engaged in mining, had been founded by Chalcis alone, without counting many of which Eretria was the mother city.

From Asia—probably from Samos—the Eubœans imported the gold standard according to which they weighed this silver, and which under the name of the Euboic standard was, by means of the widespread commercial relations of the two great Eubœan cities, soon made known over the whole Greek world. This must have taken place in the course of the eighth century, and before the war which some time before B.C. 700 broke out between Chalcis and Eretria, nominally for the possession of the fields of Lelantum, which lay between the two rival cities. This war was in reality a contest for maritime supremacy, in which the commercial interests of each town were at stake. This is evident from the universal character which it assumed. Nearly all the important states of Greece took one side or the other, and the whole *Ægean* Sea became one vast theatre on which the quarrel was to be fought out. Corinth took the side of Chalcis, Corcyra that of Eretria. Samos and Miletus also took opposite sides in the contest. This separation of all Greece into two hostile camps we must suppose to have

been occasioned by the commercial relations of the several states, the interests of some being more closely bound up with one party, those of others with the other. The intimate alliance of Samos at this period both with Corinth and Chalcis is most significant, and it is surely no mere chance coincidence that the earliest coins of these three states follow one and the same standard, namely, the Euboic. This is what leads me to suppose that it was through Samos that both Eubœa and Corinth received this standard from Asia, the period of peace and renewed commercial prosperity which succeeded the Lelantian wars, being the time to which the earliest electrum coins must be assigned.

The electrum coins of Samos and Chalcis, which I have now the pleasure of publishing for the first time, date from about this period, and are specimens of this early electrum coinage on the Euboic standard, which in my opinion preceded the silver coinage in precisely the same way as the silver of the Babylonian, Phœnician, and Æginetic standards was also preceded by electrum.

The following is a list of all the electrum coins which I would distinguish as Euboic from those which follow the Phocaic standard. They are, as will be noticed, somewhat higher in weight than corresponding denominations of the Phocaic system.

## EUBOIC STANDARD.

## DOUBLE STATER.

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
269	Corcyra?	"Gardens of Alcinous." [Pl. IX. 1.]	Two oblong incuses.

## STATÉR.

133.1	Corcyra?	Similar.	Two deep incuses, one oblong, the other square.
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[Müller, "Mon. de l'Anc. Afr.," Suppl. Pl. I. 1.]



Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
133.5	Samos.	Lion's scalp facing.	Two deep incuses, one triangular and one oblong.

[Pl. IX. 4. Found at Priene.]

#### HALF-STATER.

66.2	Samos.	Lion's scalp, facing. [Pl. IX. 5.]	Incuse square.
67.6	Samos.	Head of lioness, left. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.

#### THIRDS.

44.4	Uncertain.	Lumpy type of uncertain forms. [Found at Priene.]	Incuse square.
44.1	Uncertain.	Doubtful type. [Found at Priene.]	Incuse square.

#### SIXTHS.

21.8	Chalcis.	Wheel. [Pl. IX. 7. Bank of England.]	Incuse square.
22.1	Chalcis.	Eagle flying, right. [Pl. IX. 8. Found at Priene.]	Incuse square.
21.1	Cyme in Euboea?	Half-horse, right. [Pl. IX. 11.]	Incuse square.
22.5	Uncertain.	Four cuneiform horizontal lines. [Pl. IX. 12.]	Incuse circle.
20.3	Uncertain.	Small animal of doubtful species, above which marks of value? [Pl. IX. 13.]	Incuse square.

#### TWELFTH.

9.7	Uncertain.	Similar animal, right. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.
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Of the above described coins the first two are attributed by Müller to Cyrene, and if the type can be proved to be as he calls it, "deux pousses de Silphium," I have nothing to say against his attribution; but to my eyes it seems rather to resemble the ornament sometimes called

the Gardens of Alcinous on the coins of Coreyra, to which island the reverse type, consisting of two oblong incuse depressions, would also seem to point. (Cf. Pl. IX. 1 and 2.) In this case we might attribute these two primitive pieces to that island, which, from its intimate connection with Corinth as well as with Eubœa,<sup>15</sup> may be presumed in remote times to have made use of the same standard as its mother city for weighing the precious metals (Curtius, *Hermes Bd.*, x. p. 224), and not to have passed over to the Æginetic standard until after its rupture with Corinth. We may even point to one or two archaic silver coins with the Coreyrean type of the cow suckling her calf, and with the Euboic diagonally divided incuse square, weight about 130 grains (Pl. IX. 3), which, if Coreyrean, represent this earliest silver coinage of the island. These coins are classed as uncertain in the British Museum. I have some doubts whether to attribute them to Coreyra or to the island of Eubœa itself, to which the type would be equally appropriate.

If, on the other hand, Müller's attribution of the electrum stater to Cyrene be preferred, it would in no way affect my theory that these electrum coins are of the Euboic standard, but would merely tend to show an early commercial intercourse between that city and Samos, a connection which it is well known existed in later

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<sup>15</sup> "Coreyra, like Eubœa, originally bore the name of Macris, and was by ancient myths as well as by recurring names connected in many ways with the latter island." "The Chalcidians had constituted Coreyra the starting-point of a wider extension of Hellenic colonization, branching out in several directions."—Curtius, *Hist. Gr.* If this be borne in mind, it should cause us no surprise to find in Coreyra electrum struck on the Euboic standard.

times. The early silver of Cyrene, it is needless to say, also follows the Euboic standard.

Of the five coins standing next in the list, the stater weighing 133.5, and the thirds weighing 44.4 and 44.1 respectively, are now for the first time published, having been lately discovered near the site of Priene, on the coast of the mainland, nearly opposite the island of Samos. The two half-staters weighing 66.2 and 67.6 have lain for years unnoticed in the collection of the British Museum. The types of the stater and the two half-staters are so clearly Samian that I have no hesitation whatever in attributing them to that island. The character of the modelling of the lion's scalp on the stater is more archaic than that of any other coin with which I am acquainted.

The island of Samos was in the eighth and following centuries one of the chief maritime powers among the Hellenic States. Its situation, separated as it was by a narrow strait from the mainland of Asia, rendered it the natural outlet through which the products of the interior and of the coast lands of Asia made their way across to the opposite continent, and even into the remote lands of the West, for it was a Samian ship which first passed the pillars of Hercules and made the Greeks familiar with the phenomenon of the tides. Samos may therefore have been the means of introducing into Eubœa the gold standard which was adopted in the latter island, and this supposition is borne out by the weights of the coins now before us. These are clearly electrum of the so-called Euboic standard of the very earliest period of the art of coining. The intimate connection existing between the people of Samos and those of Eubœa, as being the two greatest maritime powers of Greece,

cannot fail to have brought about an interchange of commodities which would have rendered it a matter of commercial policy to institute a similar coinage in the two islands. Hence we may infer that the cities of Eubœa, in adopting a coinage of their own, would strike their silver on the same standard as the Samian electrum. The same reasons will apply to Corinth; and if Pheidon of Argos selected another and a different standard for the currency of his dominions, this may be explained by supposing that the trade of Argos and Ægina was chiefly carried on with Miletus and those cities of Asia which had adopted the Phœnician standard. Hence, also, the choice of the tortoise, the symbol of the Phœnician goddess of the sea, for the coins of Ægina.

The discovery of these earliest electrum coins of Samos fills up a period in the numismatic history of the island, of which no coins were hitherto known, but during which it is inconceivable that a State of the importance of Samos should have been behind her neighbour and rival Miletus in issuing coins of her own.

The relations of Samos with Eubœa would also lead us to believe that after the issue of the Eubœan silver Samos must have also struck silver money; and there exist, indeed, several specimens of silver of Euboic weight which may perhaps be Samian. I allude to two pieces in the British Museum, classed among the uncertain. These are—

1. *Obv.*—Half-bull swimming, right.

*Rev.*—Incuse square, with transverse lines.  $\mathcal{A}$ , weight 135 grs. (Pl. IX. 6).

2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp facing.

*Rev.*—Incuse square.  $\mathcal{A}$ , weight 63·1 grs. (Brit. Mus.)

Thus also in Samos, as in Coreyra, if my attributions be accepted, we find both electrum and silver of the Euboic standard in the earliest times. This standard in Coreyra on her rupture with Corinth was replaced by the Æginetic, while in Samos, probably about the time of Polycrates, it made way for the Asiatic or Phœnician standard, which had from the first prevailed at Miletus, and according to which silver was afterwards coined at Samos. (See above, p. 265, note 12.)

Of the five hectæ described above, the first is in the collection of the Bank of England, and the second was lately found with the stater of Samos. Dr. von Sallet, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. iii. p. 134, publishes a silver coin of Chalcis in Eubœa, which unites the types of the two hectæ which I would give to the same city. Obv.—Eagle, with serpent in beak, flying, right. Rev.—AAV [XAA] Wheel; weight, 42 grains. (Pl. IX. 10.) The type of the eagle and serpent is well known on the later coins of Chalcis, and the late researches of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer and Professor Curtius (*Hermes*, Bd. x. 225) have resulted in the restoration to Chalcis of the series of coins, previously thought to be Athenian, with the wheel-type.

Here, then, we have two Euboic electrum coins, the types of both of which point to Chalcis. The fact that one of them was found near the coasts of Samos is also much in favour of my attribution, when the alliance of that island with Chalcis in the Lelantian war is remembered, and when it is borne in mind how close were the commercial relations of these two cities.

The wheel (Pl. IX. 9) seems to have been the principal type of Chalcis in early times, and its prevalence among the coins of the Thraco-Macedonian tribes

(cf. the pieces of Ichnæ, Tuntanon, Eminako, Orreskii, &c.—Sallet. *l. c.* Zeit. f. Num., Bd. iii. Pl. II.) is significant as tending to show the extent of the Chalcidian trade; for it was probably from the coins of Chalcis in Eubœa, which doubtless circulated freely among her colonies in Macedon, that these peoples derived a type which appears to be common to so many of them. The fact that the coins of Chalcis with the wheel-type did circulate in Macedon is proved by their being frequently found there at the present day. (Curtius, *Hermes*, Bd. x. p. 225.)

The restoration of the archaic silver coins of various types, hitherto generally treated as Athenian, to the island of Eubœa, is a real step in advance for the science of numismatics, and it only remains now to decide to what cities the several types are to be assigned. Of these I think the two or three best known may be thus distributed: the wheel to Chalcis (Pl. IX. 9), the Gorgoneion to Eretria, and the amphora to Ceos, in which island the same change of standard from Euboic to Æginetic would then be observable which we have noticed in Corcyra.<sup>16</sup>

The coins of Eretria, no less than those of Chalcis, would be current among her colonies in the Isthmus of Pallene, and probably served as models for the coinage of Neapolis, an important town in that district.

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<sup>16</sup> Dr. Imhoof-Blumer was, as far as I am aware, the first to suggest the restoration to Eubœa of some of the archaic silver coins previously given to Athens. Prof. E. Curtius (*l. c.*) appears, independently of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, to have arrived at the same conclusion. Although therefore there can be no longer a doubt that the majority of the didrachms and smaller divisions of various types, attributed by Beulé to Athens should now be restored to Eubœa, I am still far from affirming that some of these types may not be Solonian. Among

But to return to the electrum. My attribution of these two hectæ to Chalcis shows that the same phenomenon which I have elsewhere remarked is also noticeable in Eubœa. I allude to the coinage in the seventh century, of electrum and silver upon one and the same standard. In Eubœa, in Samos, in Corcyra (or perhaps Cyrene), this standard was Euboic. In Lydia it appears to have been twofold, viz., both Babylonian and Phœnician. In the Ionian coast towns, Miletus, Ephesus, Cyme, and at a later period in Lampsacus, Abydos, Chios, Clazomenæ, and Samos, &c., it was Phœnician, and in the dominions of Pheidon of Argos it was Æginetic, but everywhere the two metals follow one and the same standard, and stand to one another in the proportion of 10 to 1.

Of the three remaining hectæ, one has the type of Cyme—the fore-part of a horse—the other two are uncertain. The first of these pieces I am inclined to attribute to Cyme in Eubœa, although it is by no means impossible that Cyme in Æolis may have been its place of mintage; for we know that the Asiatic Cyme was at one time connected with Cyme and Chalcis in Eubœa; and we find these two cities combining to found the colony of Cumæ in Italy. This gives us a clue to the side which the Asiatic Cyme may have taken in the commercial wars, in which we may presume that she sided with her old ally Chalcis, and with Samos. It would therefore not be surprising to find a similar

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these I would class the didrachm with the owl (Beulé, p. 17). The didrachm with the bull's head facing given by Gardner (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xiii., Pl. VII. 2) to Athens, I should prefer, however, to attribute to Eretria, with which city the Gorgoneion on the tetradrachm with the same bull's head on the reverse seems to connect it. Mr. Gardner gives them both to Athens; but now that the Gorgoneion has been restored to Eubœa, the bull's head can hardly assert a claim to be the long-sought-for Attic βούς.

electrum coinage here also. The fact that an electrum stater of Phœnician weight (220 grains) also bears the type of Cyme, would seem to point to a change of policy which induced the rulers of that city to prefer the Asiatic to the Euboic standard. A similar change of standard is also noticeable at Corcyra, at Ceos, and at Samos. The two former states having at an early period exchanged the Euboic for the Æginetic standard, and the latter, like Cyme, the Euboic for the Phœnician.

#### V. PHOCAIC.

The staters of the Phocaic standard are less ancient than the primitive electrum coins of Miletus, Ephesus, Sardes, &c., of the Phœnician standard. These latter probably ceased to be issued in any considerable quantity during the Milesian war, B.C. 623—612, although the hectæ and smaller divisions may have survived to the time of Crœsus, who, as we have seen, reorganized the entire coinage of his kingdom, abolishing electrum and substituting a double currency in gold and silver. The unit of the gold coinage of Crœsus was the sixtieth part of the light Babylonian mina, weighing about 130 grains (maximum), or 125 grains actual weight.

Now between the cessation of the Milesian electrum, circ. 612, and the accession of Crœsus in 560, there is a period of about half a century, during which the city of Phocæa seems to have obtained a considerable increase of power and influence, more especially upon the sea. It may therefore be considered as certain that the rise and extension of the Phocaic standard coincides with this period, during which the Phocæans, owing in part perhaps to the troubles of Miletus, are said to have been supreme upon the sea (*θαλαττοκρατεῖν*). This period, according to Eusebius (*Chron. II.*, ed. Mai., p. 331), lasted



forty-four years, commencing from B.C. 575. It has, however, been proved that this date is erroneous, and that the commencement of the Phocæan Thalassocracy should be placed in the year B.C. 602.<sup>17</sup> From this time until that of Cræsus, the influence of Phocæa, both by sea and land, appears to have been sufficiently strong to carry through a reform in the gold currency of the greater part of the Asiatic coast lands; and it is worthy of remark that the staters of the Phocaic standard, as originally issued by the cities of Phocæa, Teos, Cyzicus, and others, are not of the pale-coloured electrum of the old Milesian standard, but are of comparatively pure gold, and that they follow the standard afterwards adopted by Cræsus for his royal gold coinage, the Phocaic stater weighing 256 grains maximum, which is, allowing for a slight percentage of alloy, just double the value of the staters of Cræsus. This is a coincidence which leads me to infer that the cities which took part with Phocæa in the issue of this new coinage intended their money to circulate as gold and not as electrum, and that, therefore, although they retained the globular form of coin with which the Asiatic Greeks had been so long familiar, they at the same time selected the old Babylonian gold standard, with its sixtieth of 260 grains, as their new gold stater.

The cities of which we possess gold staters of Phocaic weight are the following:—*Phocæa*. *Obv.*—Seal. *Rev.*—Two shallow incuse squares of different sizes, wt. 254 grs. (Pl. X. 6.) *Teos*. *Obv.*—**TSOM** Griffin's head, right. *Rev.*—Incuse square, wt. 256 grs. (Brandis p. 397.) *Sardes?* *Obv.*—Lion's head with open jaws and protruding tongue. *Rev.*—Rough incuse square,

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<sup>17</sup> Goodwin, "De potentie veterum gentium maritimæ epochis apud Eusebium." Göttingen, 1855.

wt. 248 grs. (Pl. X. 8.) *Cyzicus*. *Obv.*—Tunny-fish between two fillets. *Rev.*—Two incuse squares of different sizes, the smaller one containing a cray-fish? (*ἄστακός*), wt. 252 grs. (Pl. X. 7.)<sup>18</sup> *Zeleaia, Troadis*. *Obv.*—Chimæra. *Rev.*—Two incuse squares of different sizes, wt. 252 grs. (Pl. X. 9), wrongly described as a lion by Brandis, and therefore erroneously attributed by him to Miletus. To the new attribution here proposed I shall presently return. *Thasos or Thrace*. *Obv.*—Centaur carrying off a woman: *Rev.*—Deep incuse square divided into quarters, wt. 252 grs. (Pl. X. 11.)

Here are in all six types of the stater issued by six different cities, in my opinion between about B.C. 600 and 560, when Cræsus was able to impose his new Lydian coinage upon all the Greek coast towns.

It has been generally supposed that the Phocaic coinage was contemporary with the Milesian, and that Miletus contemporaneously with her electrum of 220 grains struck gold on the Phocaic standard of 250 grains (Brandis, p. 395); and the stater attributed to that city, with the type of the lion's head described above, has even been considered by Burgon to be the oldest of all Greek coins. In my judgment both the Milesian origin and the supposed high antiquity of this piece are exceedingly doubtful. The style in which the lion's head is executed differs essentially

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<sup>18</sup> The type within the small incuse square on the reverse of this stater of Cyzicus appears to be a fish of the same species as that which occurs as an adjunct symbol by the side of the anchor on the silver coins lately attributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to Ancore. I have ventured to call this creature an *ἄστακός*, which we learn from Epicharmus was a species of crab. If this be the correct name, it is probably a *type parlant* referring to the city of Astacus on the Propontis. In this instance it would lead us to infer that the gold of Cyzicus was current in the former city, a supposition which is *primâ facie* exceedingly probable.

from that of the early coins of Miletus, and may be called barbaric rather than archaic. It bears a much closer resemblance, on the other hand, to the lions' heads upon the staters of Croesus, but is even more roughly executed. Now it seems to have been from the first the policy of the Mermnadæ in Lydia to render the coinage of Sardes conformable, on the one hand, to that of the wealthiest and most important of the Greek coast towns with which Sardes carried on an active commercial intercourse, and on the other with the vast empires of the interior. Thus we see Croesus, at a later period, instituting a currency in pure gold with two staters of 167 and 130 grains respectively, the former representing the value of an electrum stater of the Asiatic standard (220 grains), the latter that of a Babylonian electrum stater (167 grains), while at the same time it was equal to half that of the staters of the Phocaic system (260 grains).

I would therefore suggest that the gold stater with the lion's head above described may be also Lydian, and that it may represent an endeavour on the part of the previous King of Lydia, Alyattes, to assimilate his currency not only in value, but also in fabric, to that of the Ionic coast towns; and as at this time the influence of Phocæa seems to have been predominant, and the Phocaic gold stater to be little by little ousting the Milesian electrum, so Alyattes, in order to facilitate intercourse with the Greek cities which had adopted this standard, struck these gold staters of the fabric and weight of those of Phocæa.

The attribution of this coin to Sardes rather than Miletus is of more importance than might be at first imagined, since it enables us to define within more reasonable limits the territory over which the influence of Phocæa extended, while at the same time we are no

longer compelled to suppose that Miletus suddenly changed the standard of her coinage, or issued contemporaneously coins of two different systems, for it is probable that during the period to which I propose to attribute the issue of Phocaic gold, viz., B.C. 600—560, Miletus was still striking hectæ on the Asiatic standard, although doubtless the activity of her mint had been much affected by her wars with Lydia.

I now pass to the stater, above described (p. 283), having on the obverse a Chimæra advancing to the left (Pl. X. 9). The Chimæra, unlike the lion or the bull, is a type so unusual, that the attribution of a coin bearing the figure of this mythical monster is of necessity limited to a small number of localities. Lycia is the land where the Bellerophon myth had its rise, and from Lycia it spread across the sea to Corinth and Sicily, the coins of which cities are distinguished by the figures of Pegasus and the Chimæra. But neither Lycia nor Peloponnesus can assuredly lay claim to a gold stater of the Phocaic standard. They are both too far removed from the north-western portion of Asia Minor, where the influence of Phocæa was sufficiently strong to induce cities in her vicinity, such as Teos and possibly Sardes, and others in the circle of her maritime trade, such as Dardanus, Cyzicus, and Selymbria on the Propontis, to adopt the Phocaic standard for their gold coinage.

Let us therefore confine our attention to this district, and there search for any traces of the Chimæra legend. "The Troad and Lycia" (says Curtius, *Hist. Gr.*, Eng. Tr., vol. i. p. 84) "are countries intimately related to one another; they worship the same gods, such as Zeus Triopas, and Apollo; the same heroes, such as Pandarus; they have the same names for rivers and mountains.

Part of the Troad was called Lycia after its inhabitants, just as Lycians in their own country called themselves Trojans." Here then is an important clue which I may be allowed to follow up still further. Plutarch (*De Mul. Virt.*, ix.) has the following remarkable passage:—"τὸ δ' ἐν Λυκίᾳ γενέσθαι λεγόμενον μυθῶδες μὲν ἔστιν, ἔχει δέ τινα φήμην ὁμοῦ μαρτυροῦσαν. Ἀμισώδαρος γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ὃν Ἰσάραν Λύκιοι καλοῦσιν, ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ζέλειαν ἀποικίας Λυκίων, ληστρίδας ἄγων ναῦς, ὧν Χίμαῖρος ἡγεῖτο, πολεμιστῆς μὲν ἀνὴρ, ὤμους δὲ καὶ θηριώδης· ἔπλει δὲ πλοίῳ λέοντα μὲν ἔχοντι πῦραθεν ἐπίσημον, ἐκ δὲ πρύμνης δράκοντα, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Λυκίους ἐποίει καὶ πλεῦσαι τὴν θάλατταν οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ τὰς ἐγγὺς θαλάττης πόλεις οἰκεῖν· τοῦτον οὖν ἀποκτείνας ὁ Βελλεροφόντης, κ.τ.λ. This same Amisodarus, whose connection with the Chimæra is thus amusingly softened down by Plutarch, is also mentioned by Homer as the man who reared the monster (*Il.* xvi. 328):—

νῆες ἀκόντισται Ἀμισωδάρον, ὅς ῥα Χίμαιραν  
θρέψεν ἀμαιμακέτην, πολέσιν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν.

And Zeleia, from which city, according to Plutarch (*l. c.*), he despatched his piratical vessels, is also mentioned by Homer (*Il.* ii. 824) as being the city of the Lycian hero Pandarus:—

οἳ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔβαιον ὑπὲρ πόδα νέιατον Ἰδῆς,  
ἀφνειοὶ, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Ἀισήποιο,  
Τρῶες, τῶν αὐτῶν ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
Πάνδαρος ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν.

Cf. Strabo xii. p. 565, τὴν Λυκίαν, τὴν ὑπὸ Πανδάρῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ζέλεια. We may, therefore, accept it as proved that Zeleia was the centre of a Lycian population settled in the neighbourhood of Mount Ida. Consequently the

Chimæra is here as much at home as in Lycia itself,<sup>19</sup> and when we take into consideration the fact that Zeleia belonged to the territory of Cyzicus,<sup>20</sup> from which it was distant only about twenty English miles, while it was only eight miles from the sea, on the *Æsepus*, the largest river of Mysia, the attribution of the Chimæra stater can no longer be a matter of doubt.

Zeleia was probably, therefore, a place of some importance, and the attribution to it of the above-mentioned Phocaic stater is in a measure confirmed by the existence of a silver coin in the collection of the British Museum (Pl. X. 10), which I would venture also to ascribe to the Lycian colony settled in this part of the Troad. It is perhaps somewhat later in date<sup>21</sup> than the gold stater, as it bears a double type. On the obverse is a Chimæra, which in its massive and somewhat thick-set proportions exhibits a striking resemblance to that upon the gold coin, while on the reverse is a Gorgoneion precisely similar to that with which we are familiar on the silver coins of the neighbouring city of Abydos. Although this interesting

<sup>19</sup> It is well known that the Lycian hero Bellerophon was a form of the Sun-god (vide Preller, *Gr. Myth.* ii. p. 78), and it is worthy of remark that the name of the city Zeleia appears to be also connected with that of Helios (vide in Marquardt, *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet*, p. 129): "Etym. M. p. 408, 40. *Ζέλεια* ὀνόμασται ἀπὸ *Ζέλνός* τινος, ἥ διὰ τὸ τὸν *Ἥλιον* ἐν αὐτῇ *λίαν* εἰσεβεῖσθαι. und des Schol. z. *Ilias*. 4. v. 103, p. 125, 41 Bekk. : ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ *Ἰδῇ* *Λυκία* τὸ παλαιὸν *Ζέλεια* ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ τὸν *Ἀπόλλωνα* ἐν αὐτῇ *λίαν* εἰσεβεῖσθαι, welche beide die Vermuthung Schwenks bestätigen, dass die Namen: *Σέλα*, *Ζέλα*, *Ζέλεια*, sich auf den Cult des Sonnengottes beziehen."

<sup>20</sup> Strab. xiii. p. 83, *ἔστι νῦν ἡ Ζέλεια τῶν Κυζικηνῶν*. Although Zeleia afterwards formed part of the territory of Cyzicus, it is probable that in the sixth century B.C. it was independent of that city, though both one and the other were doubtless tributary to Lydia.

<sup>21</sup> The name of Zeleia occurs in the list of cities tributary to Athens as early as the year B.C. 452 (Kühler, *Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisches Bundes*, p. 10).

piece has hitherto been classed to Sicyon, I have no hesitation in affirming that it has nothing whatever in common with the coins of that city beyond the casual coincidence of type. Style, fabric, and the reverse type all point to the Troad, as will be readily admitted by any one familiar with such matters. Its weight, moreover, is not Æginetic, as would have been the case had the coin been Sicyonian, but Euboic (64 grains); and in this also we obtain a further clue to a more definite attribution, for Lycia, as is well known, from the earliest times struck silver on the Euboic standard,<sup>22</sup> and it can be a matter for no surprise that Zeleia, as a Lycian settlement, should do the same. Nor is this coin indeed the only example of silver of Euboic-Attic weight in the north-western districts of Asia Minor, as witness the early coins of the neighbouring island of Tenedos (Brandis, p. 390).

Thus, therefore, by the restoration to Zeleia and Sardes of the Phocaic gold staters given by Brandis (p. 395) to Miletus, we are enabled to define within comparatively narrow limits the territory over which the influence of the Phocaic gold standard extended in early times. This included the district from Teos northwards to the shores of the Propontis, together with, in all probability, the islands of Lesbos<sup>23</sup> and Thasos, or the opposite coasts of Thrace.

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<sup>22</sup> Brandis, p. 203.

<sup>23</sup> It is known that at a later period also the island of Lesbos was a member of the Phocæan monetary league, and much light has been thrown upon the mutual relations of Mitylene and Phocæa by the discovery of an inscription forming the latter portion of a treaty between these two cities for the regulation by reciprocal guarantee of the standard of the gold coinage common to both. This inscription was published and annotated by Newton (*Trans. R. Soc. Lit., N.S., vol. viii.*), and is assigned by him to a period not later than about B.C. 392.

Doubtless, in later times, the monetary league or leagues, at the head of which Phocæa and Cyzicus appear to have stood, included a far more widely extended confederation of towns, the coins of this later Phocæan league being for the most part distinguishable from those of the earlier times by the pale colour of the metal of which they are composed, and in very many instances by the addition to the main type of the adjunct symbol of Phocæa, the seal.

The earlier Phocaic gold coinage seems, on the other hand, to have been a currency of no very long duration, if we may judge from the extreme rarity of every one of the known types of the stater. It was probably already on the decline when Cræsus ascended the throne of Lydia; and the issue of his new gold coins, which soon attained a high reputation for purity of metal, doubtless contributed in no small degree to discredit the Phocaic gold, which, although far purer than the Milesian electrum, was less pure than the new imperial coinage of Lydia. The fall of Sardes, in 546, and the breaking up of the Lydian Empire, and with it of the mild and beneficent rule of Cræsus, whose policy it had been to cultivate the friendship of the Greeks, and to develop the resources of his kingdom towards the sea, brought about consequences of vital importance to all the Greek cities of Asia, for they were now for the first time brought face to face with the Persians, war with whom they soon found to be a very different thing from that which they had been accustomed to wage with the half Hellenized people of Lydia. All trade with the interior, lately so flourishing, came to an abrupt standstill, and then began a vast emigration, the inhabitants of some of the towns forsaking their homes *en masse* rather than submit to the rule of the Barbarian; and thus the culture, the arts, and the luxury of Ionia spread themselves over



the western lands. The autonomous gold coinage of the coast towns finally ceased with the cessation of friendly relations between the coast and the interior, and unless we attribute the gold stater with the type of a Centaur carrying off a woman, to Thasos, Macedon, or Thrace, to which district the type would seem to point, and where the people of Teos emigrated in 541, recolonising the old city of Abdera, we may safely affirm that the coinage in gold by the Greeks died out in the middle of the sixth century, and that for the space of a hundred years the Persian darics were the only coins in that metal current in the ancient world. Perhaps not until after the Athenian hegemony had begun to wane, and that city after city ceased to pay tribute to Athens, do we notice, in any marked degree, a revival at Cyzicus on the Propontis of the ancient electrum coinage. Lampsacus, Phocæa, Chios, and other states then followed the example of Cyzicus, all striking coins which in their form and fabric recall the ancient pieces of electrum, but the style of which betrays a later period of art.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> M. Ch. Lenormant, *Rev. Num.*, 1856, was of opinion that the period of the emission of the Cyzicene staters and hectæ lay between about B.C. 420 and 331, and that by far the greater number were struck between the Peace of Antalcidas, in 337, and the latter date. I am, however, inclined to think that the commencement of this coinage dates from a somewhat earlier period, which, judging from the style of the art upon some of the earlier specimens, I should say might be about the middle of the fifth century. It is true that the earliest mention in inscriptions of Cyzicene staters, is in the account of the public expenses of the Athenians in Ol. 90·4=B.C. 417 (F. Lenormant, *Rev. Num.* 1867, p. 348); but as early as B.C. 445 in the Lygdanis inscription (Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus, &c.*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 671) mention is made of a *ῥμῖεκτον* (l. 26) and of staters (l. 38.) Mr. Newton conjectures that the coins here alluded to, may have been adjusted according to the Milesian standard, the stater of which weighed 220 grains

As in the present article I do not attempt more than a sketch of the early electrum coinages anterior to the Persian conquest, I must dismiss the Cyzicene staters as extraneous to my subject. I may, however, mention that a late important find of this class of coins, containing many new, or at any rate unpublished, varieties, may ere long add much to our knowledge of this beautiful series.

The following is a list of the early Phocaic electrum coins. It will be remarked that although the staters are archaic in style, some of the smaller divisions are apparently of later work. The coinage of these may perhaps have continued for a time under Persian rule after that of the larger coins had been suppressed.

## PHOCAIC STANDARD.

		STATERS.	
Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
254	Phocæa.	Seal, right, beneath ☉.	Two incuse squares of different sizes.
[Pl. X. 6.]			
256	Teos.	TSCM. Griffin's head. [Brandis, p. 397.]	Small incuse square.
248	Sardes?	Head of lion, left, roaring.	Incuse square (rough).
[Pl. X. 8.]			
252	Cyzicus.	Tunny fish between two fillets.	Two incuse squares, the larger one containing zigzag ornaments, the smaller a scorpion or cray-fish ( <i>ἀσραρός</i> ).
[Pl. X. 7.]			
252·7	Zelcia.	Chimæra walking, left.	Two incuse squares of different sizes.
[Pl. X. 9.]			

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(max.). I should, however, prefer to consider the staters and twelfths here mentioned as of the later Phocaic or Cyzicene standard, as I know of no coins of the Milesian which are not distinctly earlier in style. In this case the commencement of the Cyzicene and Phocæan gold coinage of the later period would date from about the middle of the fifty century B.C.

Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
252	Thrace or Thasos.	Centaur carrying off a woman. [Pl. X. 11.]	Deep incuse square quartered.

## SIXTHS.

42·5	Sardes?	Lion's head, left, on round shield. [Pl. X. 12.]	Incuse square.
40·3	Dardanus.	Two cocks, face to face. [Pl. X. 14.]	Incuse square (mill-sail type).
40·3	Solymbria?	Head of Herakles, left, in lion's skin; be- neath, club. [Pl. X. 13.]	Similar.
38·9	Lesbos.	Raised square (quar- tered). [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square (quar- tered).
40·3	Uncertain.	Rose and zigzag orna- ment. [Pl. X. 15.]	Two incuse squares of different shapes.

## TWELFTH.

20·3	Phocæa.	Head of seal, left. [Pl. X. 16. Bank of England.]	Incuse square.
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## TWENTY-FOURTHS.

10·2	Teos.	Head of griffin, right. [Pl. X. 18. Bank of England.]	Incuse square, quar- tered.
10	Erythræ.	Head of griffin, right. [Pl. X. 17. Bank of England.]	Incuse square.
9	Lesbos?	Raised square, quar- tered; around, dots. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square (mill- sail type).
8·7	Lesbos?	Raised square, quartered. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square, quar- tered.

## FORTY-EIGHTHS.

4·7	Phocæa.	Head of seal, left. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.
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Wt.	City.	Obverse.	Reverse.
5.2	Ægeæ ?	Head of goat. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square, contain- ing three pellets.
4.8	Lesbos.	Raised square, quar- tered. [Brit. Mus.]	Incuse square.

## § 4. CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to give an account of the rise and extension of the early electrum and gold currencies of the Greeks, both on the Asiatic and European sides of the Ægean. From the complicated nature of the subject I have, however, found it a difficult matter to convey to my readers a clear idea of the chronological sequence of the coins of the several systems which have formed the subject of my remarks, as it has been necessary to treat of each separate class in a section by itself; a method of arrangement which has also been for the most part followed on the Plates which accompany this article, where I venture to think that a strictly chronological classification would have been less intelligible than that which has been adopted. To remedy this defect I append a chronological table, by means of which I trust that it will be comparatively easy to arrive at an approximate idea of the dates of the first issue of the several currencies.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

## § 5. APPENDIX.

## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

## PLATE VII.

1. Uncertain.	El. Stater. Earliest period probably Lydian, of the Babylonian Standard.
2. Sardes.	El. Stater, before Croesus, of the Asiatic Standard.
3. Miletus.	El. Stater, earliest period, of the Asiatic Standard.
4. Ephesus.	El. Stater, earliest period
5. Samos.	El. Stater, period of Polycrates? of the Asiatic Standard.
6. Chios.	El. Stater, of the Asiatic Standard.
7. Abydos.	El. Stater.                   "
8. Lampsacus.	El. Stater.                   "

## PLATE VIII.

1. Uncertain.	El. Half Stater.	Asiatic Standard.
2.   "	"	"
3.   "	"	"
4. Miletus.	"	"
5. Uncertain.	El. Third.	"
6. Ephesus.	"	"
7.   "	"	"
8. Dardanus.	"	"
9. Miletus.	"	"
10. Ephesus.	El. Sixth.	"
11. Uncertain. (Miletus?)	"	"
12. Clazomenæ.	"	"
13. Uncertain.	"	"
14.   "	El. Eighth.	"
15. Samos.	El. Twelfth.	"
16. Ægina.	El. Stater.	Æginetic Standard.
17.   "	El. Fourth.	"
18.   "	El. Twelfth.	"
19.   "	Æ Stater.	"



EL



1



EL



2



EL



3



EL



4



EL



5



EL



6



EL



7



EL

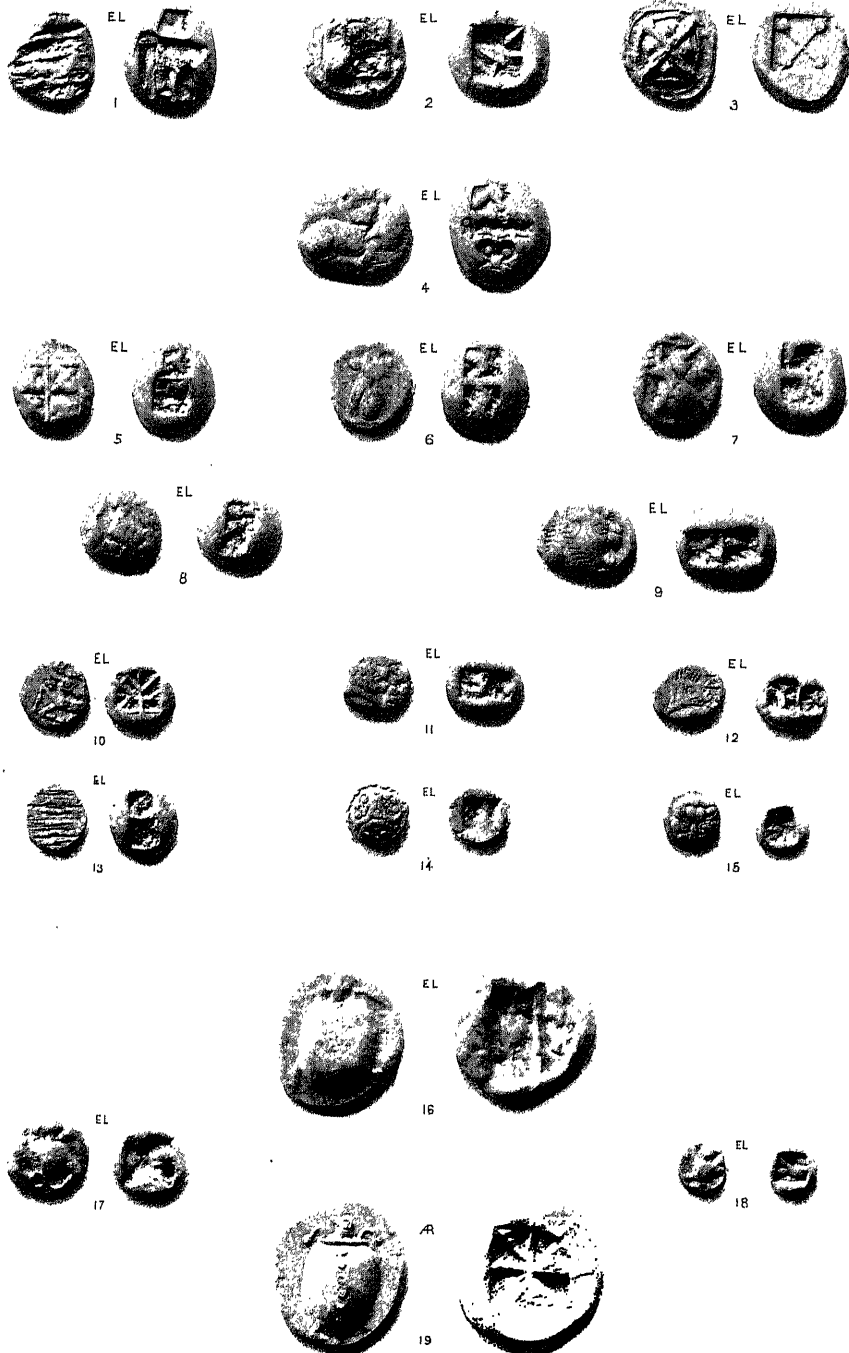


8

SAVYER, COLLETYPE. S.S.B. co

ELECTRUM  
BABYLONIC AND GRÆCO-ASIATIC.  
STANDARDS.





SAWYERS, COLLOTYPE, S. S. B. Co.

ELECTRUM ETC.  
GRÆCO-ASIATIC AND AEGINETIC  
STANDARDS.







SAWYERS, CLTOTYPE. S.S.P. 67

ELECTRUM ETC.  
EUBOIC STANDARD ETC.





N

1



N

2



N

3



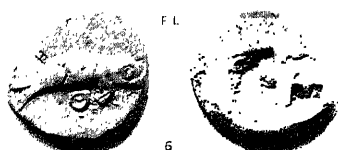
N

4



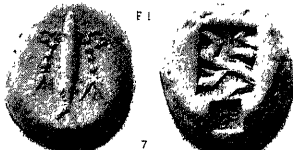
N

5



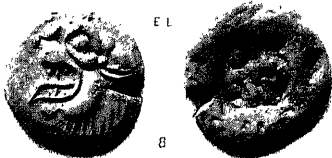
FL

6



FL

7



EL

8



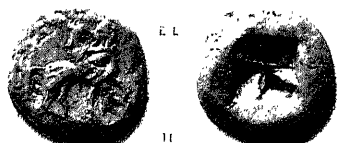
EL

9



N

10



EL

11



EL

12



EL

13



EL

14



EL

15



EL

16



EL

17



EL

18

SAATCHI & SAATCHI TYPE 3-6-64

GOLD ETC.  
LYDIAN AND PHOCAIC  
STANDARDS.



## PLATE IX.

1. Coreyra ?	El. Double Stater.	Euboic Standard.
2. Coreyra.	Æ Stater.	Æginetic Standard.
3. Coreyra or Eubœa.	Æ Stater.	Euboic Standard.
4. Samos.	El. Stater.	"
5. Samos ?	El. Half stater.	"
6. "	Æ Stater.	"
7. Chalcis.	El. Sixth.	"
8. "	"	"
9. "	Æ Stater.	"
10. "	Æ Tetrolol, later period.	Attic Standard.
11. Cyme.	El. Sixth.	Euboic Standard
12. Uncertain.	"	"
13. "	"	"

## PLATE X.

1. Sardes.	Æ Stater, time of Croesus	Euboic Standard.
2. "	Æ Third.	"
3. "	Æ Stater.	Babylonic Standard.
4. "	Æ Half Stater.	"
5. "	Æ Twelfth ?	"
6. Phocæa.	El. or Æ Stater.	Phocæic Standard.
7. Cyzicus.	"	"
8. Sardes ?	"	"
9. Zeleia.	"	"
10. "	Æ Drachm (later period)	Euboic Standard.
11. Thrace or Thasos.	El. or Æ Stater.	Phocæic Standard.
12. Sardes ?	El. or Æ Sixth.	"
13. Selymbria.	"	"
14. Dardanus.	"	"
15. Erythræ ?	"	"
16. Phocæa.	El. or Æ Twelfth.	"
17. Erythræ.	El. or Æ Twenty-Fourth.	"
18. Teos.	" "	"

TABLE OF THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH  
GRAINS AND FRENCH GRAMMES.

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
1	·064	47	3·045	93	6·026	139	9·007
2	·129	48	3·110	94	6·091	140	9·072
3	·191	49	3·175	95	6·156	141	9·136
4	·259	50	3·240	96	6·220	142	9·200
5	·324	51	3·304	97	6·285	143	9·265
6	·388	52	3·368	98	6·350	144	9·330
7	·453	53	3·434	99	6·415	145	9·395
8	·518	54	3·498	100	6·480	146	9·460
9	·583	55	3·564	101	6·544	147	9·525
10	·648	56	3·628	102	6·609	148	9·590
11	·712	57	3·693	103	6·674	149	9·655
12	·777	58	3·758	104	6·739	150	9·720
13	·842	59	3·823	105	6·804	151	9·784
14	·907	60	3·888	106	6·868	152	9·848
15	·972	61	3·952	107	6·933	153	9·914
16	1·036	62	4·017	108	6·998	154	9·978
17	1·101	63	4·082	109	7·063	155	10·044
18	1·166	64	4·146	110	7·128	156	10·108
19	1·231	65	4·211	111	7·192	157	10·173
20	1·296	66	4·276	112	7·257	158	10·238
21	1·360	67	4·341	113	7·322	159	10·303
22	1·425	68	4·406	114	7·387	160	10·368
23	1·490	69	4·471	115	7·452	161	10·432
24	1·555	70	4·536	116	7·516	162	10·497
25	1·620	71	4·600	117	7·581	163	10·562
26	1·684	72	4·665	118	7·646	164	10·626
27	1·749	73	4·729	119	7·711	165	10·691
28	1·814	74	4·794	120	7·776	166	10·756
29	1·879	75	4·859	121	7·840	167	10·821
30	1·944	76	4·924	122	7·905	168	10·886
31	2·008	77	4·989	123	7·970	169	10·951
32	2·073	78	5·054	124	8·035	170	11·016
33	2·138	79	5·119	125	8·100	171	11·080
34	2·202	80	5·184	126	8·164	172	11·145
35	2·267	81	5·248	127	8·229	173	11·209
36	2·332	82	5·312	128	8·294	174	11·274
37	2·397	83	5·378	129	8·359	175	11·339
38	2·462	84	5·442	130	8·424	176	11·404
39	2·527	85	5·508	131	8·488	177	11·469
40	2·592	86	5·572	132	8·553	178	11·534
41	2·656	87	5·638	133	8·618	179	11·599
42	2·720	88	5·702	134	8·682	180	11·664
43	2·785	89	5·767	135	8·747	181	11·728
44	2·850	90	5·832	136	8·812	182	11·792
45	2·915	91	5·896	137	8·877	183	11·858
46	2·980	92	5·961	138	8·942	184	11·922

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
185	11.988	219	14.191	253	16.394	350	22.67
186	12.052	220	14.256	254	16.458	360	23.32
187	12.117	221	14.320	255	16.524	370	23.97
188	12.182	222	14.385	256	16.588	380	24.62
189	12.247	223	14.450	257	16.653	390	25.27
190	12.312	224	14.515	258	16.718	400	25.92
191	12.376	225	14.580	259	16.783	410	26.56
192	12.441	226	14.644	260	16.848	420	27.20
193	12.506	227	14.709	261	16.912	430	27.85
194	12.571	228	14.774	262	16.977	440	28.50
195	12.636	229	14.839	263	17.042	450	29.15
196	12.700	230	14.904	264	17.106	460	29.80
197	12.765	231	14.968	265	17.171	470	30.45
198	12.830	232	15.033	266	17.236	480	31.10
199	12.895	233	15.098	267	17.301	490	31.75
200	12.960	234	15.162	268	17.366	500	32.40
201	13.024	235	15.227	269	17.431	510	33.04
202	13.089	236	15.292	270	17.496	520	33.68
203	13.154	237	15.357	271	17.560	530	34.34
204	13.219	238	15.422	272	17.625	540	34.98
205	13.284	239	15.487	273	17.689	550	35.64
206	13.348	240	15.552	274	17.754	560	36.28
207	13.413	241	15.616	275	17.819	570	36.93
208	13.478	242	15.680	276	17.884	580	37.58
209	13.543	243	15.745	277	17.949	590	38.23
210	13.608	244	15.810	278	18.014	600	38.88
211	13.672	245	15.875	279	18.079	700	45.36
212	13.737	246	15.940	280	18.144	800	51.84
213	13.802	247	16.005	290	18.79	900	58.32
214	13.867	248	16.070	300	19.44	1000	64.80
215	13.932	249	16.135	310	20.08	2000	129.60
216	13.996	250	16.200	320	20.73	3000	194.40
217	14.061	251	16.264	330	21.38	4000	259.20
218	14.126	252	16.328	340	22.02	5000	324.00

NOTE.—The above table is taken from the catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, part I., Italy pp. 430, 431. London, 1873.



## XIX.

### JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1864.

#### § V. COINS OF THE TWO REVOLTS OF THE JEWS.

THE history of the two revolts of the Jews has already, in previous years, been given by me at length;<sup>1</sup> there will be therefore no necessity to enter into a full account at this moment.

With respect to the coinage of this period, it may perhaps be as well to recapitulate the various classifications that have been suggested.

De Saulcy<sup>2</sup> and Cavedoni<sup>3</sup> assigned to the revolt under Nero only the two small brass coins of the years 2 and 3.<sup>4</sup>

In 1860 M. de Vogüé published<sup>5</sup> the coins of an

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<sup>1</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 154—161, 198—202; Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 36, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Num. Jud., p. 153, Pl. X. Nos. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Biblische Numismatik," vol. ii. p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 180, Nos. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Num., 1860, p. 280, *seq.*, Pl. XIII. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 162, *seq.*

Eleazar the Priest, and assigned them to Eleazar, son of Simon.<sup>6</sup>

The late Dr. Levy, of Breslau, in 1862<sup>7</sup> remodelled the whole coinage of this period, and attributed coins to Eleazar, son of Simon; Simon, son of Gioras; Simon, son of Gamaliel; and Ananus (?). All coins not *re-struck* were assigned by him to the first revolt, the remainder were given to the revolt under Bar-cohab.<sup>8</sup>

To the theories thus advanced by Dr. Levy in 1862, which were in the main adopted by myself in 1864, De Saulcy, in 1865,<sup>9</sup> raised some very strong objections, and having well considered the matter, came to the following conclusions and classifications:—

1. The pieces of small brass with the type of the vase and vine-leaf belong undoubtedly to the first revolt which preceded the siege of Titus.

2. All the other coins without exception belong to the second revolt, that of Bar-cohab.

3. The coins of Eleazar the Priest were issued by the Eleazar whom Bar-cohab put to death, under the pretext that he kept up relations with the Romans, but much more probably because he saw in him a rival.

<sup>6</sup> This Eleazar, though not the son of a high-priest, was still of "priestly race" (γένος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων, Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 4, 1). The rôle of Eleazar, son of Ananias, who raised the revolt, was only of short duration ("Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 2). The Ananias here mentioned was the High-Priest before whom St. Paul was tried (Acts xxiii.). Eleazar was "Captain of the Temple" (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 2; Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 46). In this paper of mine (p. 41) "Eleazar, son of Ananias," should be corrected to "Eleazar, son of Simon" (see p. 45).

<sup>7</sup> "Jüdische Münzen," p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 161, *seq.*

<sup>9</sup> Rev. Num., 1865, vol. x. p. 26 of *tirage à part*; cf. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, p. 210, *seq.*

4. The coins of Simon Nasi were issued by the President of the Sanhedrim, Simon III., son of Gamaliel II., contemporary of Bar-cohab, who did not dare treat this holy person as he had treated Eleazar.

5. All the coins with the name of Simon without the title Nasi belong to Bar-cohab, of whom they reveal the true name, a name which historians have not transmitted to us.

6. As to the anonymous pieces with the legend ירושלם, they were probably issued for an exclusively religious purpose, and by the priestly body.

In the same year (1865) the Rev. Padre Garrucci wrote an excellent paper on this subject,<sup>10</sup> a full analysis of which will be found in my article on the "Coins of the Two Revolts of the Jews," published in 1866,<sup>11</sup> and to which I shall presently allude.

Whether M. De Saulcy ever read these papers is a matter of doubt, as I have shown;<sup>12</sup> but in any case, in 1871 he was still of opinion<sup>13</sup> that the only coins that ought to be assigned to the first revolt were those of the years 2 and 3, and that all the others belonged to that of Bar-cohab.

The theory of M. De Saulcy that the coins of Eleazar belonged to Eleazar of Modaim, contemporary of Bar-cohab,<sup>14</sup> was most emphatically denied by the late

<sup>10</sup> "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1872, vol. xii. p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 250.

<sup>14</sup> It has been asserted by another French writer, M. Derenbourg ("Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine," 1ère partie, Paris, 1867, p. 424), that Bar-cohab was the nephew of Eleazar of Modaim (Midrasch on Echa ii. 2),

Dr. Levy, who in a letter addressed to me in 1865 wrote as follows:<sup>15</sup>—"There is one thing, however, which I must dispute once for all, viz., that Eleazar of Modaim (אלעזר המדעי), the co-temporary of Ben-Cosiba, ever struck coins. Wherever he is mentioned in the Talmud he is always represented as a kind of half-saint, able to subdue his enemies rather by prayer than by the sword, and to this may be added the assertion of this very Rabbi (Cf. Synhed. fol. 22, b) 'that the square characters (Aschuri) had not been changed' (כרב זה לנשרתה כל) (עיקר); that is to say, the Thora was from its commencement written in the square character, and that this character had never undergone any modification. This is a strange contradiction to the inscription on his stamped coins."

The late Dr. Levy attributed, as it will be remembered, certain coins to Simon Nasi, son of Gamaliel I., on the authority of "Sabbat 15 a."<sup>16</sup> That he ever bore this

חביבך ר' אלעזר ונך, "thy uncle Eleazar (*Chabib*)," whom he killed whilst praying at Bethar (Gittin, 57 a.)

<sup>15</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 345. The Padre Garrucci ("Mon. delle due Rivolte," in the Diss. Arch. di vario Argomento, 1865, vol. ii. p. 39) says:—"But the Talmud does not attribute to this Eleazar any command in Bethar, and only says that that Rabbi prayed God not to judge that city, which gives no sufficient evidence to those who would make him head of the revolt and colleague of Bar-cochab."

<sup>16</sup> "Jüdische Münzen, p. 125. The following list of presidents of the Sanhedrim is given by Dr. Christian D. Ginsburg, in the Art. Education, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," 2nd edit., 1870:—HILLEL I., the Great (B.C. 30—A.D. 10); SIMON I., b. Hillel I. (A.D. 10—30); GAMALIEL I., b. Simon I. (A.D. 30—50); SIMON II., b. Gamaliel I. (A.D. 50—70); JOCHANAN, b. Zakkai, founder of the school of Jamnia (A.D. 68—80); GAMALIEL II. of Jamnia, b. Simon II. (A.D. 80—116); SIMON III., b. Gamaliel II. (A.D. 140—163); JEHUDAH I., b. Simon III. (A.D. 163

title is contested by M. Derenbourg<sup>17</sup> as follows:—  
 “Josephus (*Vita* 38) only says that Simon was of illustrious birth, and that he belonged to the sect of the Pharisees, who seemed to distinguish themselves from others by a rigorous observance of hereditary laws.” Hence M. Derenbourg maintains in consequence of Josephus’s silence that the passage of the “Sabbat” is not to be depended upon, and that Simon, though having a seat in the Sanhedrim, was certainly not president.

These coins De Saulcy would give to Simon III., the son of Gamaliel II., and he has been supported in the theory by M. Derenbourg,<sup>18</sup> who fixes the commencement of the patriarchate to the time of Gamaliel II., and considers Simon III. was the first patriarch of this name.

The late Dr. Levy was, however, of opinion<sup>19</sup> that “it is utterly impossible to ascribe the coins which bear the inscription שִׁמְעוֹן נָשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל, “Simon, prince of Israel,” to Simon III. Nasi; for this Simon probably never came into close contact with Ben-Cosiba, because the Sanhe-

—198); GAMALIEL III., *b.* Jehudah I. (A.D. 198—220), in whose presidency the Sanhedrim was transferred from Jamnia to Tiberias.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 270 and note 3; p. 199, note 2. Not possessing M. Derenbourg’s volume I am unable to give the quotations in the original French. I therefore quote from “notes” which I took from this book some years since.

<sup>18</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 424, 270. De Saulcy’s table of the Nasi of Israel and their dates (*Rev. Num.*, 1865, vol. x. p. 15) is very confusing and obscure, a fact which I pointed out some time since (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 216); but the statement did not meet with De Saulcy’s approval (*Rev. Arch.*, 1866, vol. xiii. p. 338). I here repeat that I cannot make his dates, &c., agree with the researches of other scholars.

<sup>19</sup> In letter of October 23rd, 1865, addressed to me (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 346).

drim, whose president was the "Nasi," held its sittings, after the destruction of Jerusalem, at Jamnia (Jabne), and afterwards in Usha, and there can be no doubt that the entire Sanhedrim, with its Nasi, never had any participation in Ben-Cosiba's revolt."<sup>20</sup>

The new city built on the ruins of Jerusalem was without doubt in the hands of Bar-cohab and of the insurgents.<sup>21</sup> M. Derenbourg, who admits this fact, thereupon accounts for the coins in the following manner:—

1. Romans beaten in Judæa and independence declared.
2. Israel recovers its liberty לְגַאֲלֻת יִשְׂרָאֵל and Jerusalem is taken.
3. Bar-cohab retreats to Bethar (3rd year).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> M. Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*, p. 426) considers that the Sanhedrim moved to Jamnia on the commencement of the insurrection at the end of the reign of Trajan, and that it moved from thence to Usha immediately the insurrection of Bar-cohab broke out. Dr. Ginsburg on the contrary says (*Art. Sanhedrim*, in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," 2nd edit., 1870), "R. JOCHANAN, *b. Zakkai*, transferred the seat of the Sanhedrim to Jabne or Jamnia (A.D. 68—80); it was thence transferred to Usha (*Kethuboth*, 49; *Sabbath*, 15; *Rosh Ha-shana*, 15 *b*), under the presidency of GAMALIEL II., *b. Simon II.* (A.D. 80—116), conveyed back to Jabne and again to Usha; to Shafran under the presidency of SIMON III., *b. Gamaliel II.* (A.D. 140—163); to Beth-shearim and Sapphoris under the presidency of JEHUDAH I. the Holy, *b. Simon III.* (A.D. 163—193, comp. *Kethuboth*, 103 *b*; *Nida*, 27 *a*), and finally to Tiberias under the presidency of GAMALIEL III., *b. Jehudah I.* (A.D. 193—220)." See my *note*, No. 16.

<sup>21</sup> See § VII. "Imperial Colonial Coins," &c.

<sup>22</sup> The late Dean Milman ("History of the Jews," vol. iii. p. 120 *note*, 1829) writes:—"There is no historical account of this event (namely, the possession of Jerusalem by Bar-cohab), though there seems little doubt of the fact. Tychsen and others have concluded from extant coins that he was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, from 132 to 135.

I may now revert to the classification proposed by the Rev. Padre Garrucci, to which I have above referred.

This numismatist assigned to the first revolt every coin given to it by Dr. Levy and by myself, excepting those classified under "Simon son of Gioras,"<sup>23</sup> and two copper coins with the three-stringed lyre.<sup>24</sup> He also attributed to the period of this revolt the copper coins having on the obverse the legend שנת ארבע חצי (year 4—one-half), שנת ארבע רביע (year 4—one-quarter), and שנת ארבע (year 4), and on the reverse the legend לנאלת ציון (the redemption of Zion), always hitherto, excepting by De Saulcy, given to Simon Maccabæus.

To the second revolt he attributed the coins given in my book under "Simon son of Gioras,"<sup>25</sup> the shekels with the star which I had already given to Bar-cohab,<sup>26</sup>

The coins, however, are of doubtful date and authority." These words are repeated in the fourth edition (1866, vol. ii. p. 432, *note*). I do not know what Dean Milman meant by "doubtful authority."

<sup>23</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 167—174. A great objection to the attribution of coins to Simon, son of Gioras, is the fact that the coins assigned to him date "the *second* year," whereas he did not enter Jerusalem till "the *third*" (Jos., "Bell. Jud." iv. 9, 12). But the coins might have been issued in A.D. 69 and 70, the years of Simon's government in Jerusalem ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 169; Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 215). I am not, however, prepared to press this point. Though we are, as Garrucci observes (*op. cit.*, p. 37), in total ignorance of a Simon who was at the head of the nation (ἄρχων λαοῦ) in the first revolt, yet Simon Bar-gioras only was recognised by the Romans as a chief (ὁ ἀρχων αὐτῶν) and alone executed (Dion Cass., lxvi. 7). Tacitus ("Hist." v. 12) makes John of Gischala and Eleazar equal with Simon, but erroneously calls John—Bar-gioras. The text is corrected in Bekker's edition of Tacitus (Leipzig, 1831).

<sup>24</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 179, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>25</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 167—174.

<sup>26</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 170, 171.

the copper coin with the type of the three-stringed lyre,<sup>27</sup> and the re-struck coins of which there is no doubt.<sup>28</sup>

One of the most important arguments urged by the Padre Garrucci to corroborate his theory is "the enormous difference of the palæography," especially in the letters *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Ghimel*, *Vau*, *Jod*, and *Tzade*. Cavedoni<sup>29</sup> had thought that the enormous difference suggested consisted mainly in the form of the *Schin*, which, on the smaller copper coins, is sometimes angular (**W**) and sometimes rounded (**U**). But Garrucci was not alluding to the *Schin*. The *Schin* is especially alluded to by Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., who in 1857<sup>30</sup> wrote, "I must confess that I very much doubt the propriety of classing these copper coins with the shekels, both from the formation of the letters, and especially of the **w**, and from the nature of the inscriptions, which so closely resemble some of those on the coins of Simon Bar-cohab." Mr. Evans is still of the same opinion, for in a recent letter to me he says, "The different forms of **W** and **U** afford arguments against coins bearing the two forms being of the same period," and has further called my attention to what he considers the similarity in style and weight of the coins of Eleazar, and some of those of the 4th year.

Now there is no doubt that originally the forms **W** and **U** are of different dates, and the former is the oldest, occurring as it does on the Moabite Stone, the lions from Nimrud, and on some engraved stones from Babylon,

<sup>27</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 179.

<sup>28</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 204—210.

<sup>29</sup> "Principali Questioni," &c., p. 6, *note*; Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 193, *note*.

<sup>30</sup> Num. Chron., vol. xx. p. 12.



Nineveh, etc.<sup>31</sup> The latter may be found on the sarcophagus of Esmunazar.

It is a fact that the two forms occur indiscriminately on Jewish coins. Does, this, however, prove that the coins so inscribed are of different dates?

On this point Mr. Vaux, M.A., F.R.S., writes to me as follows: "I confess I think you must not strain too far archaeological analogies, especially in the case of a people who were either not of an artistic turn of mind, or were not permitted to use any kind of art on their money. The argument from the persistence of *literal* types for any successive half or quarter century is very good in highly artistic places, such as Neapolis, Syracuse, Panormus, Corinth, etc. In such cases you can speak with tolerable certainty of the date of a coin from the character of the letters in its legend, and you may construct canons for this purpose like those of De Luynes. But I greatly doubt whether you can do so in the case of places like Judæa. I suspect, on the contrary, that there the older and later types of letters were in use simultaneously, and this possibly because there was little writing in the land except copies of the scriptures. Nor do I see that there is any real difficulty from palæographical reasons. **W** would very easily indeed flow into **Ω** (or *vice versa*); indeed, the variation of form may have been originally due only to the actual difference of handiwork in the two or more persons employed in engraving the dies."

In this view I entirely concur. Moreover, as regards the *Schin*, both forms may be found on *one and the same*

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<sup>31</sup> François Lenormant, "L'Alphabet Phénicien," vol. i. pp. 128, 147, Pl. II.

coin,<sup>32</sup> and both forms are used indiscriminately on coins of the same period.<sup>33</sup> On this point, therefore, there is no question to discuss.

The "enormous difference" referred to by the Padre Garrucci I am unable to detect, and it is remarkable that the form of the *Vau* (פ) on the coins of the "fourth year" occurs on the coins of Hyrcanus, *and never on the coins of the revolts*.<sup>34</sup>

The manner of marking the year at length was another argument urged by Garrucci, who supposed that the substantive *shekel* was purposely omitted to give room for the two words *Shenath* and *Arbah* at length, and that therefore שנת ארבע חצי was engraved instead of שב חצי השקל which ought to have been written. But this point I rejected entirely; and attempted to show that the word

<sup>32</sup> F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 171, No. 8; p. 172, No. 11; p. 173, No. 13.

<sup>33</sup> F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 47, No. 10; pp. 164—179; 204—209.

<sup>34</sup> F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 54. Respecting this enormous difference, the Padre Garrucci wrote to me in 1866, after the receipt of my paper, in the following words:—"What, in fact has the F of Simon to do with the X X of this 4th year of the copper coins? What has the f to do with y y (*sic*), or the 7 with λ, or the γ with Z (although this letter Z is found upon the small coins of John Hyrcanus); what has the J, always thus delineated, to do with N, N, N, N, and finally what has the W to do with ζ, ζ? I have here wished to particularise my proposition because I do not see that in your table you have brought forward all the differences, which I copy from the facsimiles on Plate I. of De Saulcy." It will thus be seen that the Padre Garrucci formed his opinion from the coins engraved on Plate I. of De Saulcy's "Numismatique Judaïque"! I have formed my opinion from an examination of the coins themselves, and I may add that in the plate given by M. F. Lenormant in his recent work ("L'Alphabet Phénicien," vol. i. Pl. VII.)—a work which I suppose may be considered to be the standard one—no such "enormous differences" are delineated.

שקל would never have been placed on a *copper* coin, as it may be compared with the word *στανήρ*—standard—which is only applied to coins of gold, of electrum, or of silver.<sup>35</sup>

It has not either been satisfactorily demonstrated why the *value* of the coins should have been inserted only in the fourth year of the revolt.

As regards the weight, the coins of Eleazar weigh about 100 grains. Coins of the fourth year in the British Museum weigh 90, 86, 82, 81, 78, 66, and 59 grains. A specimen in the possession of Mr. Evans weighs 93 grains. The similarity of weight is equally applicable to the coins of the Syrian kings,<sup>36</sup> and I do not believe that any theories can be deduced from the weights of copper coins. I have already stated<sup>37</sup> that "the weighing of a large number of copper coins might only lead to an abandonment of all existing theories," and Mr. Head (to whom I am indebted for the weights of the coins in the Museum given above) writes to me, "I do not believe that the weights of copper coins have any meaning at all. They simply represent a nominal value generally very much greater than the actual weight of metal of which they are composed. The Roman *æs grave* and certain other exceptionally massive coins may be excepted. Weighing the smaller pieces is simply time wasted."

There is still left the question of the likelihood or probability of the insurgent Jews, in the midst of the factions in which they were engaged, issuing between May A.D. 69 and May A.D. 70 such a fine set of coins as

<sup>35</sup> F. W. Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 55.

<sup>36</sup> F. W. Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 57.

<sup>37</sup> "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 294; "The Handbook of Roman Numismatics," p. 3.

those of the fourth year. I do not know if some would wish to attribute them, with all the remaining coins of the revolt, to the time of Bar-cochab; but if so, the improbability is to my mind further increased.

I therefore, till some further proof be produced, still retain my opinion, already given in the first section of this series of papers, that the copper coins of the fourth year belong to Simon Maccabæus.<sup>38</sup>

To return, however, to the general mass of coins of the revolts. Among De Saulcy's arguments there is one which is deserving of ample consideration. He writes,<sup>39</sup> "Comment ne pas donner la même origine à des monnaies identiques, je le répète, de types, de style, de taille, de fabrique, et cela pour la seule raison que les unes ont été frappées sur des flans neufs et les autres sur des flans déjà empreints de types étrangers, surtout quand entre l'émission de celles que l'on considère comme les plus anciennes et l'émission des dernières il s'est écoulé soixante-cinq ans

<sup>38</sup> On some of the coins of the fourth year there is the legend *Ligullath Zion*. M. de Saulcy (Rev. Num., 1864, vol. ix. p. 8, *tirage à part*) says:—"Il serait extrêmement intéressant de découvrir l'origine de la légende לִגּוּלַת צִיּוֹן, que portent exclusivement les monnaies de cuivre de l'année 4. Je laisse à ceux qui ont le privilège de tout expliquer, le soin de trouver dans l'histoire de Simon pour l'année 136, le fait qui a pu motiver l'adoption et l'usage de cette légende." Though not presuming to have attained that omniscience to which M. de Saulcy alludes, I venture to suggest that the legend may have been adopted when the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, the hill of the Temple (or Zion, Art. *Jerusalem*, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible;" LXX., τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀκρὰν; Vulg., "*montem templi qui erat secus arcem*"), being made stronger and the place of Simon's abode (1 Maccab. xiii. 52; cf. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 199, note 15).

<sup>39</sup> Rev. Num., vol. ix., 1864, p. 26, *tirage à part*.

au moins ? ” And again,<sup>40</sup> “ Connaissez-vous un seul exemple d’une numismatique quelconque qui, après avoir subi une éclipse continue de soixante-cinq ans, se reproduit avec une identité telle, à tous les points de vue, sans en excepter un seul, qu’il soit à *priori* impossible de discerner les produits des deux fabrications que plus d’un demi-siècle sépare ? ”

De Saulcy’s remarks would be of great value if he was speaking of a settled government where art flourished, but seems hardly applicable to the Jews in their disturbed state, and the insurgents in the second revolt would therefore be glad to make use of the old dies, which it is possible may have been preserved during the sixty-five intermediate years.

If the first revolt lasted four years, how is it that only coins of the second and third are to be attributed to it ? Where are the coins of the first year ?

I may add that M. Renan<sup>41</sup> inclines to the view that the Jews struck coins during the first revolt, which was called “ Jerusalem money,” or “ money of danger.” He, however, says, “ il se peut que dans la première révolte on ait contrefait des monnaies asmonéennes, et que, dans la seconde, on ait contrefait des monnaies de la première. Toute pièce portant l’effigie du temple ou datée ‘ de la liberté de Jérusalem ’ ou ‘ de la liberté de Sion ’ est de la première révolte ou faite à l’imitation d’une pièce de la première révolte ; la seconde révolte, en effet, ne fût jamais maîtresse de Jérusalem.<sup>41a</sup> Il ne semble pas que, lors de la première révolte, on ait surfrappé la monnaie Romaine, comme on fit à la seconde.”

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<sup>40</sup> Rev. Num., 1865, vol. x. p. 6, *tirage à part*.

<sup>41</sup> “ L’Antechrist,” p. 273.

<sup>41a</sup> See above, and § VII. “ Imperial Colonial Coins,” &c.

In view of the conflicting statements given above it seems quite useless to attempt to decide to which Eleazar and to which Simon the coins shall be assigned. The question to be solved is therefore simply reduced to this—what coins shall be ascribed to the first revolt and what to the second?

The first revolt lasted four years, from April—May A.D. 66 to August—September A.D. 70.

The second revolt lasted three and a half years, commencing in the spring of A.D. 132 and ending in August A.D. 135.

The dates (at full length) on the coins are—

- A.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{שנת אחת (year 1)} \\ \text{שנת שנים (year 2)} \\ \text{שנת שלוש (year 3)} \end{array} \right\} \text{ with legends } \text{לגאולת ישראל} \text{ and } \text{לחרות ציון}.$

and in cipher—

- B.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{No date} \\ \text{ש"ב (year 2)} \end{array} \right\} \text{ with legends } \text{לחרות ירושלם} \text{ and } \text{לחרות ישראל}.$

There are thus two distinct series, (1) with the dates at length and the words *לגאולת* (redemption) and *לחרות* (deliverance); (2) with no date and with date in cipher *ש"ב* and the word *לחרות* (deliverance).

Now there is no difficulty in attributing to the second revolt the pieces restruck on coins of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian, and it is worthy of remark that these restruck coins seem always to be those bearing the legends *לחרות ישראל* or *לחרות ירושלם*.

*It would be of importance to ascertain if any of the coins with the legend לגאולת ישראל have been discovered restruck on coins of Vespasian, Titus, &c.*

To what year, however, and to which revolt shall the coins with no date and the legend *לחרות ירושלם* be

assigned? Are they co-temporary with the dated coins of the years 1, 2, and 3?

In assigning all these coins (excepting those of the years 2 and 3) to the second revolt, as M. de Saulcy would have us do, the difficulty of the Eleazar coins must present itself to any student of this portion of Jewish history, and after the positive opinion given by the late Professor Levy, to which I have above referred, I cannot possibly accept either M. Derenbourg's or M. De Saulcy's theory on this point.

I am, therefore, still inclined to assign to the first revolt the coins distinguished above under A, and to the second revolt those marked B.

I now pass on to the description of—

#### A. COINS OF THE FIRST REVOLT.

The following tables will be of use in illustrating the coinage of the first revolt:—

TABLE I.<sup>42</sup>

Year.	Month.	Year A.D.	Events.
	April, } May, }	66	Second month of Jewish year and fifth of Roman. Jewish war begins ("Bell. Jud." ii. 14, 4).
I.	May,	67	Vespasian conducts Jewish war.
	Feb.,	68	Vespasian enters Gadara.
II.	May,	68	Vespasian enters Jericho.
	Jan.,	69	Jewish war suspended and Jerusalem left to factions.
	April,	69	Simon enters Jerusalem in the third year of the war, and first month of Jewish year ("Bell. Jud." iv. 9. 12).
III.	May,	69 }	Factions.
	Jan.,	70 }	
IV.	May,	70	
	Aug.,	70	Temple burnt ("Bell. Jud." vi. 4, 5.)
	Sept.,	70	Last wall taken ("Bell. Jud." vi. 8, 5.)

<sup>42</sup> F. W. Madden; "Sunday at Home," 1874, p. 310. This

TABLE II.

1st year. From May, 66 to May, 67.

The coins of Eleazar, the shekels with ירושלם, the copper coins with the six-stringed and five-stringed lyres, and the coins of Simon Nasi were issued.

2nd year. From May, 67 to May, 68.

In consequence of the abundance of the previous coinage, and the factions already existing in Jerusalem, only the small copper coins of the year "two" were struck, and these in tolerable abundance.

3rd year. From May, 68 to May, 69.

The small copper coins of the year "three," which are *infinitely* rarer than those of the year "two," were struck, which proves that the factions had increased to such an extent from the commencement of January, 69, that no more coins were issued after that date.

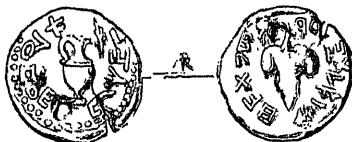
4th year. From May, 69 to May, 70.

No coins were issued, owing to the factions and the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. It eventually fell four months after.

#### I. COINS OF THE FIRST YEAR.

May, A.D. 66, to May, A.D. 67.

##### a. Eleazar.



1. *Obv.*—אלעזר הכהן<sup>43</sup>. Eleazar Hakkohen, "Eleazar the Priest." Vase; in field to right a palm-branch.

table differs from that given by me in 1866 (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 64) as here there was a mistake in the date assigned to Simon's entrance into Jerusalem.

<sup>43</sup> The *Vau* in this word is worthy of notice. On the copper coins the word is written in the usual way—הכהן.



Rev.—[שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל]. *Shenath Achath Ligullath Isr[ael]*. "First year of the redemption of Israel." Cluster of grapes. Æ. (De Vogüé, *Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 280, Pl. XIII. No. 1; Levy, "*Jüd. Münzen*," p. 89, No. 22; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 162, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 87, No. 2; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 2.)



2. Obv.—רזע-לא , i.e. *Eleazar Hakkohen*, written backwards in two lines on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev.—[שנת אחת לגאולת ישראל]. A cluster of grapes. Æ. (De Vogüé, *Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 280, Pl. XIII. Nos. 3, 4; Levy, "*Jüd. Münzen*," p. 90, No. 24; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 164, No. 3; Garrucci, p. 88, No. 3; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, No. 3.)



3. Obv.—א-לע זכ-רה , i.e. *Eleazar Hakkohen*, in three lines on either side of a palm tree.

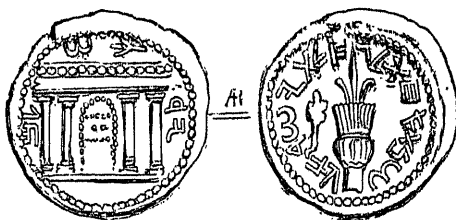
Rev.—Same legend and type as No. 2. Æ. (Reichardt, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 179. The letters are in confusion over the field. Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, note 30.)

There is a specimen of the copper coin of Eleazar in the collection of Mr. Evans, who writes to me as follows :



the obverse from one and the reverse from the other. Levy, on the other hand, suggested that it might have been struck when the two leaders were at peace, and stamped joint coins. De Sauley<sup>45</sup> attributes it to Bar-cohab and Eleazar of the second revolt, and adds that M. de Vogüé assures him that he has seen an authentic specimen of this joint coin.

γ. *Shekels with legend* ירושלם.



1. *Obv.*—ירושלם, *Jerusalem*. A tetrastyle temple.

*Rev.*—שנת אחרת לנאלת ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel." *Ethrog* and *lulab*.<sup>46</sup> R. (De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, p. 159, Pl. XI. No. 1; Levy, "*Jüd. Münzen*," p. 91, No. 24; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 164; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 5; *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi., p. 43, No. 5.)

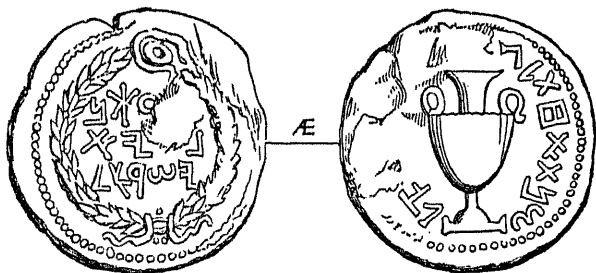
The coin of the second year of this type, but with the

<sup>45</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1865, vol. x. p. 25, *tirage à part*.

<sup>46</sup> The *ethrog* (אֶתְרוֹג) or citron was according to tradition always carried in the *left* hand, whilst the *lulab* (לִילָב) or bunch of thickly-leaved branches was carried in the *right*. The word *lulab* strictly means a palm-branch (Buxtorf, "*Lex Talm.*" c. 1143). The *ethrog* is found alone on the silver and copper shekels. It will be noticed that the *ethrog* on the coins of the Revolts is placed on the *left* of the *lulab*, as if to mark the custom. (Levy, "*Jüd. Münzen*," pp. 134, 135; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," pp. 50, 164, 166; *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 43, note 31.)

legend שב לחר ישראל, published by me in my book<sup>47</sup> from De Vogüé,<sup>48</sup> I believe to be a shekel with the star above the temple, and it should therefore be attributed to Bar-cohab.

δ. Coins of Simon Nasi.



1. *Obv.*—[שב עון]  
[כנשיא ישראל], Simon Nasi Israel, "Simon, Prince of Israel," written in three lines within a laurel-wreath adorned with a gem.

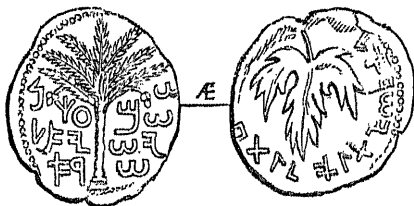
*Rev.*—שנת אחרת לבגאלת ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel," written round a vase with two handles. Æ. (De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, p. 165, Pl. XIII. No. 8; Levy, "Jüd. Münzen," p. 97, No. 80; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 176, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 6; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 44, No. 6.)

Another specimen of this rare coin is in the British Museum. The handles of the vase are slightly different in shape. It weighs 568 grains. That in Paris only weighs 515 grains. There are no traces of re-striking on either.

<sup>47</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 165.

<sup>48</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 287, *note*; cf. De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, Pl. XI. No. 8.

I have already pointed out<sup>49</sup> that the form of the *Vau* is ✕ and not ✱ as originally supposed by De Sauley.



2. *Obv.*—שם עון, שש-יא, *Simon Nasi or Sisi Israel*, written on  
ישראל

either side of a palm-tree.

- Rev.*—שנת א' לנחלת ישראל, "First year of the redemption of Israel." Vine-leaf. *Æ*. (De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, p. 166, Pl. XIV. No. 2; Levy, "*Jüd. Münzen*," p. 98, No. 31; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 177, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 7; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, p. 44, No. 7.)

It will be observed that on this coin there are two *Schins* instead of a *Schin* and a *Nun*, though other examples exist correctly engraved.<sup>50</sup> Garrucci<sup>51</sup> states that a specimen in the "Museo Kircheriano" reads *Sisi*, and suggests that it is perhaps derived from שיש, whence in Ezekiel xxxix. 2 we read ששתי (LXX. καθοδηγήσω; Vulg. *educam*) and hence ששתי *dux*. I had thought that the extra *Schin* was an error of the engraver.

The coin described and engraved by De Sauley,<sup>52</sup> and which was also reproduced by Dr. Levy<sup>53</sup> and by myself<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 176, *note*.

<sup>50</sup> De Sauley, *Num. Jud.*, Pl. XIV. No. 1.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38, *note* 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Num. Jud.*, Pl. XIV. No. 1.

<sup>53</sup> "*Jüd. Münzen*," p. 98, No. 32.

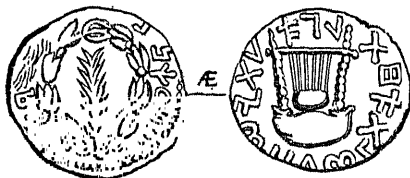
<sup>54</sup> "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 177, No. 3. The observation on this coin ("*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*, p. 165, *note* 8) becomes consequently invalid.

as a coin of the "second year," is nothing more than a badly-preserved specimen of the "first year;" for on a close examination of the piece, which was formerly in the collection of Mr. Wigan, every letter can be deciphered. This discovery is due to the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.<sup>55</sup> I subjoin an engraving of it and its proper description.



*Obv.*—Same as No. 2.

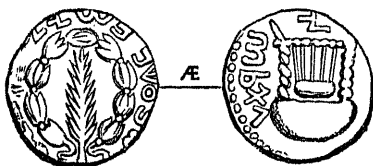
*Rev.*—שנת אחת [לגאולת ישראל]. (The letters נחא of the first two words, and לתי of the last two are linked together). Vine-leaf. Æ.



3. *Obv.*—ראל . . . . . שמעון, Simon [Nasi Is]rael. Palm-branch within a wreath.

*Rev.*—ל . . . . . שנת אחת לגאולת יש, "First year of the redemption of Israel." Lyre with six strings. Æ. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 178, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 8; Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, p. 44, No. 8; cf. De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 160, Pl. XI. No. 2.)

<sup>55</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 180.

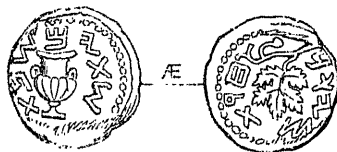


4. *Obr.*— . . . . שמעון נשיא, *Simon Nasi* [*Israel*]. Same type as No. 3.

*Rev.*— ישראל . . . . . Lyre of the same shape, but with five strings. Æ. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 178, No. 2.)

## II. COINS OF THE SECOND YEAR.

May, A.D. 67, to May, A.D. 68.

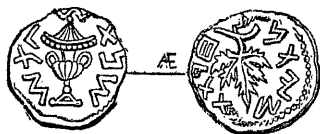


1. *Obr.*— שנת שנייה, "Year two." A vessel with two handles.

*Rev.*— ציון, "Deliverance of Zion," written round a vine-leaf. Æ. (De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.*, p. 154, Pl. X. No. 1; Levy, "*Jüd. Münzen*," p. 100, No. 34; Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. 180, No. 1; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 9; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S. 1866, p. 44, No. 9.)

## III. COINS OF THE THIRD YEAR.

May, A.D. 68, to May, A.D. 69.



1. *Obr.*— שנת שלוש, "Year three." A vessel with two handles and cover.

*Rev.*—Legend and type as the coins of “year two.” Æ. (De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.*, p. 154, Pl. X. No. 2; Levy, “*Jüd. Münzen*,” p. 100, No. 35; Madden, “*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*,” p. 180, No. 2; Garrucci, p. 38, No. 9; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, N.S., 1866, p. 45, No. 10.)

## IV. FOURTH YEAR.

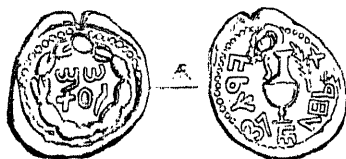
May, A.D. 69, to May, A.D. 70.

No coins.

B. COINS OF THE SECOND REVOLT UNDER BAR-COCHAB.<sup>66</sup>

A.D. 132—A.D. 135.

*a. Coins with no date.*



<sup>66</sup> The conjecture that this leader bore the name of Simon rests only on the testimony of the coins, for all authorities are silent on the subject, and the oldest (to which belong the Thosiphtha and the Jerusalem Talmud) call him only *Ben-Kosiba*; later ones, as the Babylonian Talmud and Midrasch, *Bar-Kochba* (or *Bar-Chochebas*); also sometimes *Bar-Kosiba*, from his supposed quality as “Messiah,” as “son of a star” after the words “There shall go forth a star out of Jacob” (Numb. xxiv. 17). He was at first only a robber and a murderer, and the surname *Bar-cochab* or “son of a star,” was evidently the latest assumed, as though he were “a star from heaven” (Euseb. H. E. vi. 6; Levy, “*Jüd. Münzen*,” pp. 122, 123; Madden, “*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*,” p. 200, note 9; p. 203, note 7). The Jews afterwards called this false Messiah *Bar-Cozba* (בַּר כּוֹזְבָא or in Chaldee בַּר כּוֹזְבָא) the “son of a lie” (Jahn, “*Hebrew Commonwealth*,” Vol. II., p. 196.



1. *Obv.*—שמועון,<sup>57</sup> Simon, within a wreath.

*Rev.*—לחר[ו]ן[ת] ירושלם. "The deliverance of Jerusalem." A pitcher and a palm-branch. *Æ*. (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 162, Pl. XII. No. 4; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 167, No. 1; De Sauley, Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, p. 251, No. 64, publishes a specimen à fleur de coin.)

2. *Obv.*—Same legend and type.

*Rev.*—(sic) לחרות רושל. Three-stringed lyre. To the left the letters **HMEΞ**. *Æ*. (De Sauley, Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, p. 251, No. 65.)<sup>58</sup>

De Sauley says that the obverse of this piece is evidently struck *from the same die* as No. 1. The letters **HMEΞ** are the remains of **ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΧΙΑ**.

3. *Obv.*—שמועון (for שמעון). Type as No. 1. On the lower rim traces of **ISV. IASASIAN** (Vespasianus).

*Rev.*—[לח]ר[ו]ת ירוש[לם]. A pitcher and palm-branch. *Æ*. (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 162, Pl. XII., No. 3; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 204, No. 1.)

4. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 3. Of the original legend there remains **KAIC. NEP. TPAI**.

*Rev.*—... לחרות ירו. Of the original legend there remains ... **MAPX** ... Cup and palm. *Æ*. (De Sauley, Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, p. 252, No. 67.)

<sup>57</sup> This word should be written שמעון, but similar transpositions are frequent on these coins (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 167, note 7).

<sup>58</sup> M. De Sauley in this paper (dated 1871) speaks of my attribution of these coins (Nos. 1 and 2) and also of that described further on (No. 14) to Simon son of Gioras, and totally ignores the fact that in 1866 I restored them to Bar-cochab. I have already called attention to this circumstance (Num. Chron., N.S., 1872, vol. xii., p. 7).

This piece was restruck on a coin of Trajan. De Sauley states that it was found at Djebel-Foureidis (*Herodium*), and purchased at Jerusalem.

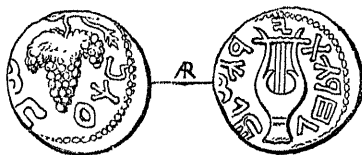
5. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 3.

*Rev.*—לוח[ן] כות ירושלם. Pitcher; round the edge of the coin **TITVS CAES. VESP.** *Æ.* (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 205, No. 2.)



6. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 3. Around are traces of **TIAN AVG.** (Domitian).

*Rev.*—לחר[ות] [י]רושלם. Three-stringed lyre. *Æ.* (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 205, No. 3.)



7. *Obv.*—שמעון, *Simon*. Cluster of grapes.

*Rev.*—לחרות ירושלם. Three-stringed lyre. *Æ.* (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 170, No. 6.)

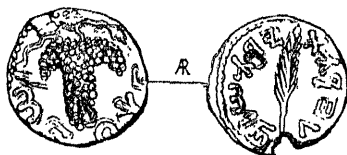
8. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 7.

*Rev.*—לחרות [י]רושלם. Three-stringed lyre. Traces on obverse and reverse of **OPTIMO PRINCIPI** (Trajan). *Æ.* (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 206, No. 4, and coin from Cavedoni.)

The Rev. H. C. Reichardt published some years since<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, No. 20.

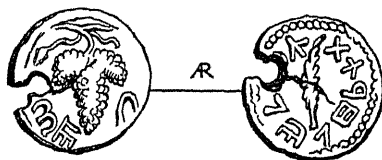
a remarkable coin of similar types, but with the curious legends שנת אחדת לבג . . . יש and ש'א' לזר ישראל, which Levy<sup>60</sup> and myself<sup>61</sup> considered a forgery. De Sauley is also of this opinion.<sup>62</sup> I may add that since I published my book I have had an opportunity of examining this coin, and am still confident that it is decidedly false.



9. *Obv.*—Same legend and type as No. 7.

*Rev.*—לחירות ירושלם. A palm-branch. *R.* (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 208, No. 10; cf. De Sauley, p. 160, Pl. XI. No. 6.)

This coin occurs with traces of restriking. Other specimens of this coin are said to be stamped with the letters **IAN ΣΕΒ** on the obverse, and with **VΠ Δ** on the reverse.<sup>63</sup> These letters would signify [**ΤΡΑ**] **ΙΑΝ** [**ΟΣ**] **ΣΕΒ** [**ΑΣΤΟΣ**] and **VΠ** [**ΑΤΟΣ**] **Δ**, "Trajan Augustus, Consul for the fourth time."



10. *Obv.*—שמוע. Cluster of grapes.

*Rev.*—לחירות ושלם, "For the redemption and peace." *R.*

<sup>60</sup> "Jüd. Münzen," p. 106.

<sup>61</sup> "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 174, No. 15.

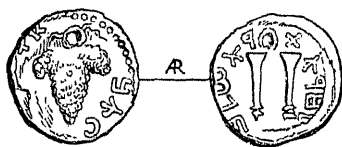
<sup>62</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1865, vol. x. pp. 4 and 23 of *tirage à part*.

<sup>63</sup> Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. iii. p. 474.

This coin was published by Mr. Reichardt.<sup>64</sup> He supposes that "this was the first coin issued by Bar-cohab, immediately after the second revolt, when Israel was then freed for a time from the Roman yoke, enjoying national liberty again, *redemption* from heathen bondage and *peace* procured by their leader, the false Messiah, Simon Bar-cohab."

I do not agree with Mr. Reichardt's reading, and have already said so.<sup>65</sup> I cannot help thinking that the coin is intended for the one previously described (No. 9), the reverse legend of which is לחרות ירושלם, as it has every letter of this legend on it except *two*—לחרות [יר]ושלם.

This coin also bears faint traces of having been re-coined.



11. *Obr.*—Same legend and type as No. 7. On the edge  
TR (Trajan).

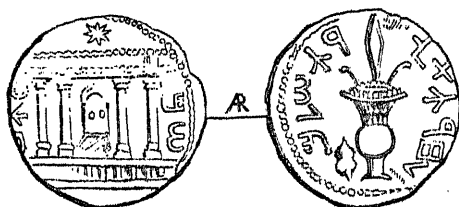
*Rev.*—לחרות [יר]ושלם. Two trumpets. R. (De Sauley, "Num. Jud.," p. 162, Pl. XI., No. 7; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 206, No. 5.<sup>66</sup>)

<sup>64</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 181.

<sup>65</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 182, *note*.

<sup>66</sup> I have already alluded (§ I. and *note* 33<sup>a</sup>) to Mr. Conder's statement that a coin weighing 60, 54, or 57 grains, and bearing on its obverse the words "Shekel Israel," is in existence. It, however appears, as I have shown from Mr. Evans's statement ("Academy," Nov. 14, 1874), that the coin referred to, which is in the possession of the Rev. Canon Tristram, only weighs 43 grains, and moreover is a modern counterfeit. It is further cast from a genuine original. The obverse is similar to that given in my book on p. 168, No. 4 [see under "Bar-cohab, coins of 2nd year, No. 4," of this series

Another example published by me, "Jew. Coinage," p. 207, No. 6, shows plainly the type of coin of Trajan issued in A.D. 105, on which it was restruck. Cf. De Sauley, Pl. XI., Nos. 8 and 9.)<sup>67</sup>



12.—*Obv.*—Same legend as No. 7. Tetrastyle temple ; above a star.

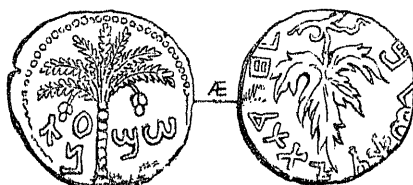
*Rev.*—לחירות ירושלם. *Ethrog* and *lulab*. *AR*. (De Sauley, "Num. Jud.," p. 161, Pl. XI., No. 4 ; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 170, No. 7.)

The star on this coin doubtless bears allusion to the name of Bar-Cochab (*son of a star*). Shekels of this type of the second year exist, which I shall describe in their proper place.

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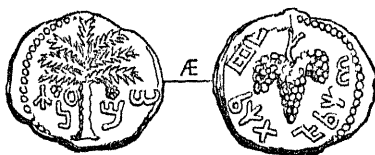
of papers], and the reverse to that given in my book on p. 206, No. 5 [see under Bar-cochab, coins with no date," No. 11, in this series of papers], except in the legend, which is שֶׁב לִירוּשָׁלַם, the לִירוּשָׁלַם being a blunder for לִירוּשָׁלַם. Mr. Conder has substituted a ק for a ב, and converted the legend to שֶׁב לִירוּשָׁלַם. The erroneous theories based on erroneous readings have already been called to the attention of my readers.

<sup>67</sup> Some absurd woodcuts of these coins are given by Dr. Stainer in his article on "Music of the Bible" in the "Bible Educator," vol. ii., p. 232. Another ridiculous example may be found in the same publication (vol. i., p. 157), in an article on "Moses," by the Rev. J. P. Norris, in which is engraved a string of "Samaritan coins, showing the supposed shape of the pot in which the manna was preserved"; whilst some copper coins with the lyre (see under "Simon Nasi," Nos. 3 and 4, and under "Bar-cochab," No. 15) are called by Dr. Stainer (vol. i. p. 206) "Maccabæan medals"! It is a great pity that authors so often



13. *Obv.*—Same legend as No. 7. Palm-tree.

*Rev.*—לחיות ירושלם. Vine leaf. Æ. (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 164, Pl. XII. No. 10; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 172, No. 9; cf. De Saulcy, Pl. XII. 9—12, Pl. XIII. Nos. 1 and 2. Some varieties of this type are published by De Saulcy, Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 253, Nos. 70—73. On one the name *Simon* is written שמעון, and De Saulcy says the *nun* never existed. On an example in the cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 164, Pl. XIII. No. 3; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 209, No. 1) there occurs on the obverse the letters ΕΠ. and on the reverse ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΤΡΑ. showing that the piece was struck over a coin of Trajan.)



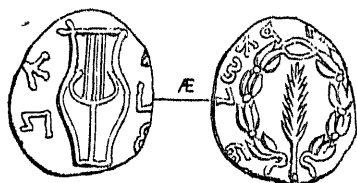
14. *Obv.*—Same legend as No. 7. Palm-tree.

*Rev.*—לחיות ירושלם. Cluster of grapes. Æ. (De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 164, Pl. XIII. No. 4, cf. No. 5; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 172, No. 10; De Saulcy, Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 252, No 68, publishes a fine example of this coin with a small variety in the arrangement of the legend.)

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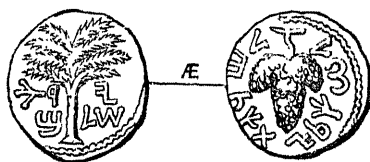
spoil their writings by inserting woodcuts of coins without taking the trouble to see if specimens exist in the National collection, or to consult authentic works on the subject.

With respect to the obverse type of these coins, De Sauley has observed<sup>68</sup> that the palm-tree on the Jewish coins is always represented with *seven* palms, being the exact number of the branches of the sacred candelabrum.



15. *Obv.*—Same legend as No. 7. Three-stringed lyre.

*Rev.*—[י]רושלם . . . לח. Palm-branch within a wreath. Æ. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 179, Nos. 1 and 2; De Sauley, Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 253, No. 69. A specimen is engraved, Num. Jud., Pl. XII. No. 8, with a lyre of *four* strings, probably in error.)



16. *Obv.*—ירושלם, *Jerusalem*, on either side of a palm-tree.

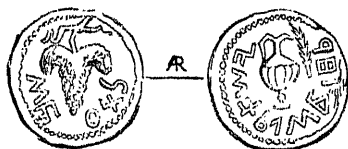
*Rev.*—[ם] לחרות ירושלם Cluster of grapes. Æ. (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii., p. 276, No. 19; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 173, No. 13.)

This piece Levy<sup>69</sup> does not consider to be *genuine*. I have, however, seen it, and am convinced of its authenticity.

<sup>68</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 252.

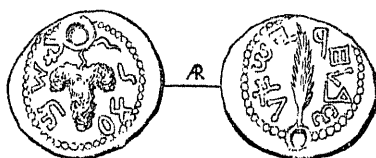
<sup>69</sup> "Jüd. Münzen," p. 96.

## β. Coins with Date—Year 2.



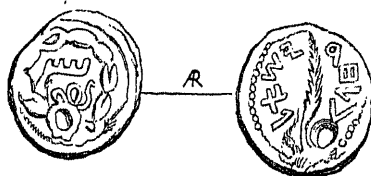
1. *Obv.*—שמעון, *Simon*. Cluster of grapes.

*Rev.*—(sic) בש לחר[ות] ישרל, "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." R. (De Sauley, "Num. Jud.," p. 169, Pl. XIV., No. 5; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 167, No. 2.)<sup>70</sup>



2. *Obv.*—Same legend as No. 1. Cluster of grapes.

*Rev.*—(sic) ישרל שב לחר[ות]. Palm-branch. R. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 168, No. 3.)

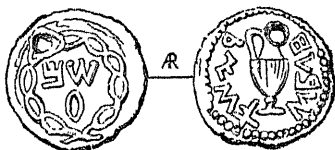


3. *Obv.*—שב (abbreviated) within a wreath.

*Rev.*—(sic) ישרל [שב] לחר[ות]. Palm-branch. R. (De Vogüé, *Rev. Num.*, 1860, Pl. XIII., No. 6; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 208, No. 9. This coin bears traces of recoinage.)

<sup>70</sup> M. De Sauley (*Rev. Num.*, 1865, vol. x., p. 2 of *tirage à part*), in describing the various legends found on the coins of





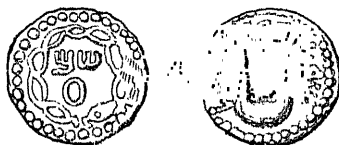
4. *Obv.*—שמע within a wreath.

*Rev.*—(sic) שב לחרות [ישא] Pitcher and palm-branch. (?)  
*R.* (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii.  
 p. 276, No. 21, Pl. VI. No. 7; Madden, "Hist.  
 of Jew. Coinage," p. 168, No. 4.)

5. *Obv.*—שמע in two lines.

*Rev.*—שב לחרות ישראל (read לח שב). Pitcher  
 and palm. *R.* (De Saulcy, Num. Chron., N.S.,  
 1871, vol. xi. p. 251, No. 66.)

the Revolts, gives under "Légende No. 3" the following—  
 "שב לחרות [ירושלם]", "Année 2<sup>e</sup> pour la liberté de Jérusalem," and again, (*op. cit.*, p. 3), under "Groupe D. No. 3," describes a silver coin, "*R.* שמעון Grappe. *Rev.* Lég. 3, Enochoé et palme." He appears to allude to this legend later (*op. cit.*, p. 8)—"La formule qui se présente ensuite, et d'abord sans désignation d'année, est לחרות ירושלם, 'pour la délivrance de Jérusalem.' Est-ce cette fois une désignation d'ère que nous trouvons sous ces mots? Il est permis encore d'en douter, puisque si l'on rencontre la formule לחרות שב ישראל sur une seule pièce d'argent, au nom de Siméon, identique de types et de fabrique avec la pièce d'argent d'Eléazar, et sur une petite pièce de cuivre avec le nom isolé ירושלם, et identique de types avec la pièce de cuivre d'Eléazar, ces deux exceptions restent seules dans la série, la formule constante de l'année II. étant שב לחרות ישראל." But the meaning of this sentence is very obscure. He again speaks of the legend לחרות ירושלם: (*op. cit.*, p. 13), and at p. 20 of both a copper and a silver coin with this legend. M. de Saulcy is apparently alluding to the silver coin (2nd Revolt, Year 2, No. 1) and to the copper coins (2nd Revolt, no date, No. 16; Year 2, No. 12), but the object of his remarks is not quite clear.



6. *Obv.*—שמע within a wreath.

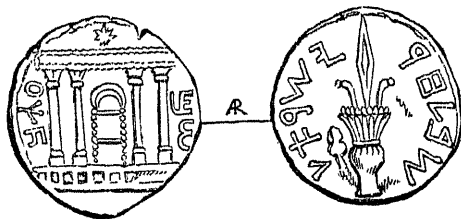
*Rev.*—שב לחר[ות]ן ישראל. A three-stringed lyre. *R.*  
(Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii.  
p. 277, No. 24, Pl. VI. No. 8; Madden, "Hist.  
of Jewish Coinage," p. 168, No. 5.)

7. *Obv.*—שמע within a wreath.

*Rev.*—שב לחר[ות]ן ישראל. Two trumpets; between  
them an oblong square. *R.* (Reichardt, Num.  
Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 276, No. 22;  
Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 207, No. 7.)

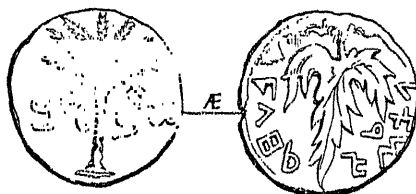
8. *Obv.*—שמע within a wreath.

*Rev.*—(sic) שב לחר[ות]ן ישראל. Same type as No. 7.  
*R.* (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii.  
p. 277, No. 23; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coin-  
age," p. 208, No. 8.)



9. *Obv.*—שמעון. Tetrastyle temple; above, a star.

*Rev.*—שב לחר[ות]ן ישראל. *Ethrog* and *Lulab*. *R.*  
(De Saulcy, Num. Jud., p. 168, Pl. XIV. No. 4;  
Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 171,  
No. 8.)

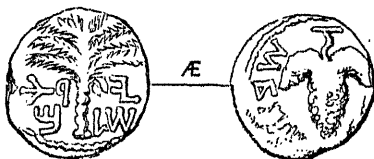


[ 10. *Obv.*—שמעון (for שמעון). Palm-tree.

*Rev.*—שב לחרות [ישראל]. Vine-leaf.  $\text{Æ}$ . (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 169, Pl. XIV. No. 6; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 172, No. 11.)

11. *Obv.*—שעמו (for שמעון). Palm-tree.

*Rev.*—[לחרות] ישראל [ל]. Vine-leaf.  $\text{Æ}$ . (De Sauley, Num. Jud., p. 169, Pl. XIV. No. 9; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 173, No. 12.)



12. *Obv.*—ירושלם, Jerusalem. Palm-tree.

*Rev.*— . . . . . שב. Cluster of grapes.  $\text{Æ}$ .  
(Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 277, No. 26; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 173, No. 14.)

I have now, I think, laid before my readers the most complete list of the coins of the Revolts to be found in any previous numismatic work on Jewish coins. I beg, however, to state that the arrangement here adopted is given with great diffidence, and that I feel more than ever convinced (writing now after ten years have passed away since I first examined the question) that the whole of the coinage of this period is wrapt in great obscurity, and

that I fear that no satisfactory result will ever be obtained till fresh examples, tending to solve many of the difficulties, have been discovered.

I may add that it is a matter of much regret that some of our younger numismatists do not take up this question, and look at it with "new eyes," as the result of such an examination could not fail to be well received by the older students of this branch of Jewish numismatics.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

*(To be continued.)*

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*. Band V. 1878, Vienna 1875, contains among other interesting matter the following articles:—

1. Dr. Otto Blau. On the coins of Cyprus. In this article Dr. Blau divides the numismatic history of the island into three periods; the first of which comprises the kings of Salamis of the family of the Teukridæ, B.C. 580—500; the second, the coins of native Dynasts, Persian Satraps and Phœnician usurpers, between B.C. 500 and 400; the third from B.C. 400—312, the date of the incorporation of the island into the kingdom of the Ptolemies, comprises the coins of the native Aëakidæ and of the independent Phœnician kings of Kitium.

We have not space to review this article at length, but we would remark that many of Dr. Blau's attributions appear to us to be based upon insufficient evidence. He seems to have worked too much from books and engravings of coins, where he would have done better to have examined the coins themselves.

2. Dr. F. Kenner publishes and engraves for the first time a specimen of a gold-stater of Ephesus. This coin has hitherto been considered as of doubtful authenticity. Two specimens were sold at the Borrell sale (July 1852), for £1 9s. and £1 13s. respectively. In spite of the prejudice which was then prevalent among collectors against the gold coins of Greek cities, these coins were believed in by Borrell and have since been accepted as genuine by Brandis. Dr. Kenner goes carefully into the question of their authenticity and decides in their favour.

We cannot say that we are altogether convinced by his arguments, but it would be interesting to know whether all these gold staters are from the same or different dies. If the latter they are probably authentic. The obverse type of these pieces is a bee surrounded by the inscription ΕΦΕΣΙΟΝ, the reverse exhibits a quadripartite incuse square.

3. Dr. Kenner also publishes two very fine Greek Imperial coins of Sardes and Phokæa, the former of Geta, the latter of Faustina Junior.

4. The part devoted to Roman numismatics opens with an article by Herr Franz Trau in which he publishes a number of hitherto unedited coins. These appear, however, to be of no great mark with the exception of a bronze medallion

of Maximian I. (Hercules), the interesting feature of which is that the conventional Reverse type of the **TRES MONETAE** is abandoned, and one previously occurring on a medallion of Philip, Otacilia, and Philip II. revived.

The two articles which follow, are contributed, the first by Herr Joseph von Kolb, on the legionary coins of Gallienus, the other by Dr. F. Pichler, on the subject of Juno Martialis, which type he ingeniously attributes to the events of the period during which the coins bearing the inscription **IVNO MARTIALIS** were struck.

Dr. Missong is turning his extraordinary collection of the coins of Probus to good account. With such splendid material at his command, he is able to show the complete and continuous coinage of this Emperor with the special marks of issue of each mint. The article on this subject by Dr. Missong in the *Zeitschrift* is however limited to the coins struck at the Mint of Tarraco in Spain. He divides the coinage into six separate issues, and in his arrangement follows precisely the same order as that adopted by the late Count de Salis in his classification of this series in the British Museum. It is very satisfactory to find two numismatists, working independently of one another, arriving at exactly the same results in their researches.

In a short article Herr von Kolb continues to unravel the enigmatical marks on the coins of Diocletian and Maximian I. and the two Cæsars, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, &c. The results of his inquiries are satisfactory, but in our opinion these researches could be carried even further. For instance, on examining the issue at Carthage following the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian it will be seen, as stated by Herr von Kolb, that Constantius as Augustus, and Severus as Cæsar, placed the letter or number **H** in the field on the reverse of their coins, whilst Galerius as Augustus, and Maximinus as Cæsar, placed the letter or number **I**. Herr von Kolb, to show the order of the coinage, also gives the exergual letters of Constantius and Severus as **Δ** and **Γ**, and to Galerius and Maximinus the letters **B** and **Δ**. As far as the former, *i.e.* Constantius and Severus, are concerned, this is correct; but of the latter, Galerius and Maximinus, the same cannot be said, as of these there are coins of this issue with the letters **A B Γ Δ**, showing that there must have been at least four separate issues of this type. As the Augusti and the Cæsars at this period issued their coinages together, it is only reasonable to suppose that coins with like exergual letters were struck by Constantius and Severus, as by Galerius and Maximinus, although such coins have as yet not been brought to light. It now remains for numismatists such

as Dr. Missonig to thoroughly sift the point, and we feel certain that it can be done with a result similar to that which followed his researches on the coins of Probus.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII., Pt. II., 1875, contains two numismatic articles :—

1. Notice on the Dinārs of the Abbasside Dynasty, by E. T. Rogers, Esq. The main object of this paper is to discover the places of issue of those 'Abbāsī gold coins on which no mint-name is inscribed. This Mr. Rogers endeavours to effect by means of the names of governors occurring on the coins. By giving a detailed list of the complete series of 'Abbāsī dinārs as represented in his own collection, in that of the late Col. Seton Guthrie, and in published catalogues, and examining historically each name occurring on any of the coins of the series, he succeeds in identifying the mint-place of a very large number of those unminted dinārs. It is impossible here to enter into a detailed criticism of Mr. Rogers's attributions ; but although many are obviously correct, the fact of the existence of several governors bearing the same name, at the same time, in different provinces of the Mohammedan empire, points to the possibility of wrong attribution in many cases. It were to be wished that Mr. Rogers would display a little more knowledge of Arabic scholarship in his spelling. It would not need a very long study of his Arabic grammar to convince him of the absurdity of such forms as *Al M'utasein*, *Al Mas'āin*, *Al M'utaz*, and we should then be spared such eyesores as *'Issa*, *Jamad al Akhira*, *San'at*, *Amad*, *Bani Umaya*, *Za'ar Riisatein*. The list of coins is illustrated by four admirable autotype plates. At the end of the article is a list of the 'Abbāsī mints (136 in number), with a short account of their geographical position : and this list is illustrated by a map of the 'Abbāsī empire, which, however, is unfortunately somewhat too sketchy to be of much use. The lists will probably be useful, especially to those who do not read German or Russian, and are consequently unable to make use of the valuable works of Professor Stickel and M. Tiesenhausen, where both the historical and the geographical information contained in Mr. Rogers's article may be found at greater length, and with more references to authorities.

2. Inedited Arabic Coins, by Stanley Lane Poole, Esq. This paper contains descriptions of ten unpublished coins, some of which are exceedingly curious. The statement on p. 251, as to the uniqueness of Abu-l-Barakāt's coins, is disproved by a publication of M. Tiesenhausen, which the writer had apparently not seen. The paper is illustrated by an autotype plate.

*Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, by W. Stanley Jevons, F.R.S. We have no hesitation in saying that this is a work which should find a prominent place in every numismatist's library. It is curious how few there are who combine with the knowledge of some of the different branches of numismatics, the understanding of the principles of coinage and circulation. To study coins, but not currency, is like studying musical instruments without knowing anything about the music they are designed to produce. And yet the science of money is one of the most interesting branches of the great science of political economy, in which every branch is interesting. We hope that Professor Jevons's book will bring about a reform in the education of numismatists. It is compact and yet thorough, and whilst the writer has filled his pages with information, his style is still eminently readable. The small compass into which the treatise, as one of the International Scientific Series, had to be compressed, has of course necessitated rather more shortening in certain places than is desirable. This is especially remarkable in some of the sections on the history of coinage, and on regulating paper currency. But we have ample compensation in other chapters, and the sections relating to the "Battle of the Standards," the principles of circulation, the "Clearing-house system," the "Cheque Bank," and others, will be found of much value and interest. As Mr. Cliffe Leslie has said of the book, it is "well adapted to fill a lacuna in both popular and educational literature. It abounds in information which every one ought to possess; but for much of which a student might have rummaged a whole library without success. It is surprising how few are the persons who could answer the question, why the mint price of an ounce of gold is £3 17s. 10½d. A student who cannot be puzzled in the most intricate part of Mr. Mill's theory of international values, is often as much puzzled by it as many members of the House of Commons were by Sir Robert Peel's question, 'What is a pound?' On this, and a host of similar points, Mr. Jevons's treatise now leaves them without excuse."

In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for December, 1875 (Vol. XXXI. p. 339), is a paper by Mr. H. W. Henfrey on the Bristol Mint and its productions. The earliest coin mentioned as having been minted in that city is one of Ethelred II., and the latest some of those of the great recoinage of silver under William III. The building in which the Bristol coinage of 1696-97 was minted is still in existence, but has now been converted into an asylum for the poor and infirm. The coin of Ethelred II. is of the type Hawkins, fig.



205, and appears to have been unknown to Ruding. It is cited from Hildebrand, the original being in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm. The other Saxon coins are of Cnut, Harold I., Edward the Confessor, and Harold II., of the known varieties of which a complete list is given. Most of the post-conquest coins struck at Bristol are well known, though some, like those of Henry I. and Stephen, are extremely rare. It was not indeed until the issue of the long-cross coinage of Henry III. that the mint acquired much importance. It was active under Edward I., but seems again to have been dormant until the days of Edward IV., when gold was first struck there. Considering that the Bristol half-rials of Edward IV. are by no means rare, the statement that there is no specimen in the British Museum may cause surprise. It possesses however an example of the Bristol angel of Henry VI., which is a much rarer coin. It may be observed, by the way, that the other example cited from the cabinet of the late Capt. Murchison differed from the Museum specimen in several other portions of the legend besides those mentioned by Mr. Henfrey. The angel of Henry VI., and some of the other coins from the Bristol Mint, are given in an autotype plate. Among them is the shilling of Henry VIII., formerly Mr. Cuff's, and now in the Museum, which is attributed by Mr. Henfrey to the third coinage of that king. I have a Bristol shilling which I should be more inclined to attribute to a still later coinage. Its legends differ both on the obverse and reverse from the late Mr. Cuff's coin, being *HENRIC'S D'G' ANGLIE & FRAT'Z' : HIBERN' CIVITAS x & x BRISTOLIE* m.m. W.S., in monogram, between two small quatrefoils. Various documents relating to Sir William Sharrington, whom these initials denote, will be found set forth in Mr. Henfrey's paper which we commend to such of our readers as are interested in the English coinage, as containing a very complete account of the Bristol Mint.

J. E.

Our readers will be glad to hear that at the Séance of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, on the 27th August last, M. de Longpérier, in the name of the *Commission de Numismatique*, read the Report for the year 1875, in which he announced that the Commission had selected from among the works addressed to the Academy, Mr. B. V. Head's "Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse" (*Num. Chron.*, Vol. XIV. p. 1). The Report of the Commission was adopted by the Academy, and the Prix Allier de Hauteroche, for the two years 1873 and 1874, was accorded to the author.

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THE END.



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1874—1875.

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OCTOBER 15, 1874.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :

1. Comte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour les années 1870—1871. St. Petersburg, 1874. With Atlas. From the Commission.

2. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Tomes xxxv. and xxxvi., 1873, and Annuaire, 40<sup>e</sup> année. 1874. From the Academy.

3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London. Vol. vi., Nos. 2 and 3. From the Society.

4. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. iii., 4th Series. April, 1874, No. 18. From the Association.

5. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5<sup>me</sup> Série, tome vi., 3<sup>me</sup> and 4<sup>me</sup> livraisons. From the Society.

6. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. ix., 1874. From the Kent Archæological Society.

7. Smithsonian Report, 1872. From the Smithsonian Institution.

8. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2<sup>me</sup> trimestre de 1874. From the Society.

9. Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica per la Storia d'Italia. Firenze, 1874. From the Editor.

10. Curiosités Numismatiques, 20<sup>me</sup> art. par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

11. La Numismatique. Discours, par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

12. Bronze medal in commemoration of the visit of the Shah of Persia to the City of London. From the Corporation of the City.

The Rev. A. Pownall exhibited a silver penny of Offa, King of Mercia, found near Wellingborough, and bearing the moneyer's name, DEIMVND.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a farthing of the *Voce Populi* type, with a bust supposed to be that of Charles Edward, the young Pretender, and the date 1760.

Mr. Allen exhibited a large brass coin of barbarous work, the obverse of which was imitated from a coin of Trajan, and the reverse from one of Nerva; the inscriptions on both sides were blundered.

The Rev. W. T. Tyrwhitt Drake brought for exhibition a selection from a large hoard of Jewish shekels discovered between Jerusalem and Jericho. These coins were lately condemned as modern forgeries by an anonymous writer in a weekly contemporary. Their genuineness is, however, guaranteed by the unanimous opinion of all numismatists who have seen them, and this judgment is confirmed by an accurate analysis of one of them taken by Dr. Flight, of the British Museum, who also pronounces their specific gravity to be that of pure stamped silver. The find contains several examples of the rare coins of "Year 4."

Mr. P. Gardner communicated a paper on a new and unpublished tetradrachm, struck probably in Bactria, by Heraus, a king of the Sakas or Scythians, about the end of the second

century before Christ. This paper is printed in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xiv., p. 161.

M. F. Bompais communicated a paper on an unpublished silver stater of the town of Ichnæ, in Macedon, issued early in the fifth century B.C. See vol. xiv., p. 177.

Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick presented to the Society copies of several documents relating to the English Mint, one of which bore the following curious title: "The Manner and Meanes whereby other Countreys are able to give more for Bullion then England, to carrie away our Moneys and undervalew our and overvalew their Commodities." This was a treatise apparently written about 1615—20, by Sir G. Hay, and it contains a proposal for altering the coinage.

NOVEMBER 19, 1874.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Roman Imperial profiles enlarged from coins, arranged by J. E. Lee, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S. From the Author.
2. Numismatica Meddelanden, utgifna af Svenska Numismatica Föreningen. From the Swedish Numismatic Society.
3. The Rural Life of Shakespeare: by C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.
4. Il Medagliere Arabo-Siculo della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo: by the Marchese Vincenzio Mortillaro. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited an angel of Henry the Seventh, with what appeared to be the numeral 7 after the name Henricus; an angel of Mary, with the obverse inscription in Roman instead of the usual Lombardic characters, and an angel of the first coinage of Elizabeth, with the inner circle plain instead of beaded.



Mr. Golding exhibited a silver medal of George the Third by Pingo, commemorating the capture of Pondicherry, 1761.

Mr. F. W. Madden communicated a paper on Jewish Numismatics, in which he examined the various questions that have arisen in connection with this subject during the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of his work on the "History of the Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testaments." This paper, which forms the first of a series upon the same subject, will be found in vol. xiv., p. 281.

DECEMBER 17, 1874.

JOHN EVANS, ESQ., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3<sup>me</sup> trimestre de 1874. From the Society.

2. Marsden's Numismata Orientalia. New Edition, Part I. Ancient Indian Weights: by Edw. Thomas, Esq., F.R.S. From Col. C. Seton Guthrie, R.E.

Capt. R. J. H. Douglas communicated a notice of the discovery of two gold coins of Antedrigus, one at or near Brackly, not far from Banbury, and the other near Nailsworth, in Gloucestershire. These two coins are from the same die, and the inscription, **ANTEORIGOV**, is at full length; their weights are 84 and 77.25 grains respectively. The occurrence of the Greek Θ on the coins of this British chief has been remarked before, as affording a commentary on the "*Græcis literis utuntur*" of Cæsar, in his account of the Druids (Evans, "Ancient British Coins," p. 145): but the above-mentioned coins are the first specimens of this rare variety which have been found with the inscription entire.

M. F. Bompois communicated a paper "On an inedited didrachm of Ichnæ in Macedonia, with an appendix on the coins of Dicæa, in Thrace." See vol. xiv., pp. 177 and 273.

Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick communicated a paper "On the Annals of the Coinage of Scotland, from the Time of Charles II. to that of Queen Anne." See vol. xiv., p. 317.

JANUARY 21, 1875.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Rev. T. Calvert, Messrs. H. W. Lamb, G. R. Mann, H. G. Tunmer, and G. Wakeford, were elected Members.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited a unique and unpublished brass coin of Allectus, having the figure of a Victory in the ship upon the reverse, found at Higham in 1851. Also a medalet in pewter, from the collection of Mr. C. Warne, F.S.A., the obverse of which represents the siege of Worcester, and bears the inscription in the field WOSTER, and around, GOD BLES MY LORD WILMOT: LADY LANE: COL. CARELES: CAPT. TEDERSAL. The reverse is borrowed from the counters of Charles the First, with c—r., a crossed sword and palm, and the inscription in VTRVMQVE PARATVS. There has also been an inscription in the exergue, which is illegible. A notice of this extremely rare medal, with a very imperfect woodcut representation of it, has since appeared in the Sussex Archæological Collections. Vol. xxvi., p. 276.

Mr. B. H. Napier exhibited a noble with the ordinary reverse of Richard II., but with the obverse of the nobles of Edward III. — viz., ship, with one rope at the prow, three at the stern, and flag. The especial interest of this coin is that it proves which was the last coinage of Edward III.

M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, communicated a paper on Lykkeios, a Dynast of Pæonia, who is alluded to, though not mentioned by name, by Diodorus, as one of the kings who made common cause against Philip of Macedon, when he made an incursion into the country of the Pæonians. It is printed in vol. xv., p. 20.

Mr. Henfrey read a paper giving extracts from the *London Gazette* of 1745 and 1746, which supplied some interesting particulars concerning a medal engraved by Yeo, in commemoration of the Duke of Cumberland's victory at Culloden. See vol. xv., p. 91.

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FEBRUARY 18, 1875.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

H. Virtue Tebbs, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1875. 1<sup>re</sup> livraison. From the Society.

2. *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*. July, 1874, No. 19. From the Association.

3. *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*. By W. Tiesenhausen. St. Petersburg, 1873. From the Author.

4. *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. Vol. iii., Part I. From the Society.

5. *M. de Caumont*. By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper in which he produced the evidence of several unpublished coins, to prove that the Empress Plautiana, supposed by numismatists to have been the wife of Pescennius Niger, has been needlessly interpolated into history. The writer proved that the coins which are supposed to establish her existence were really struck in honour of Plautilla, the first wife of Caracalla. The paper will be found at p. 34 of vol. xv.

Mr. F. W. Madden communicated some further observations "On Jewish Numismatics." See vol. xv., p. 41.

Mr. W. H. Henfrey read a paper, "On the Naval Honorary Medals of the Commonwealth," which is printed in vol. xv., p. 81.

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MARCH 18, 1875.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. D. Doulton was elected a Member of the Society.

The following present was announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. iii., Nos. 1—3. From the Society.

Sir James Anderson exhibited an unpublished autonomous coin found on the site of Carthage, probably of the time of the Emperor Justin I. *Obv.* DOMINO NOSTRO, with the bust of an emperor; *rev.* edifice commonly known as the "Gate of the Prætorian Camp."

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper "On a Hoard of Coins of the usurpers Magnentius and Decentius, found near Oxford, and on the Parallelism between the Coinage and the History of those Emperors," in which he showed that the coinage, like the history, might be divided into three periods:—1. The Liberal or Pagan period, extending from A.D. 350 to September, 351, the coins assigned to which are characterized by the absence of any Christian symbols, &c. 2. The Christian or Orthodox period, from the Battle of Mursa onwards. 3. The Despotic period, when the government of Magnentius was restricted to Gaul, and assumed a more tyrannical character; the coins of this period being distinguished by the occurrence upon them of the Imperial diadem, now, apparently, for the first time adopted by Magnentius.

APRIL 15, 1875.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Prince A. Emmanuel de Croÿ, Mr. H. S. Cuming, and the Rev. C. Soames, were elected Members.

Sir James Anderson exhibited a tetradrachm of Rhodes of the Attic standard; *obr.* head of Helios, of fine bold work; *rev.* ΠΟΔΙΟΝ, Balaustion flower, on either side of which a bunch of grapes.

Mr. B. V. Head remarked that this interesting coin was the first which had come to light either of the city or the island of Rhodes, struck during the finest period of Greek art on the Attic standard. The date which Mr. Head assigned to the coin was shortly after B.C. 408, in which year the three ancient Rhodian towns, Lindos, Ialysos, and Kameiros, combined to found the city of Rhodes, which they then raised to the rank of capital of the island. The earliest staters hitherto published of this city follow the so-called Rhodian standard, and weigh about 240 grains. This weight has been taken by metrologists to be the old Græco-Asiatic standard of the ancient Rhodian towns slightly raised for commercial purposes. The discovery, however, of an Attic tetradrachm of 260 grains cast much doubt, in Mr. Head's opinion, upon the above explanation of the origin of the Rhodian standard, which he was, therefore, inclined to look upon rather as Attic *debased* than as Græco-Asiatic *raised*. This coin, together with that of Carthage exhibited at the previous meeting, has been most liberally presented by Sir James to the British Museum.

Mr. C. R. Smith exhibited a penny of Henry I., with a double legend on the reverse, of a type described by Hawkins (258) as extremely rare.

The Rev. A. Pownall read a paper "On the Coins of Offa, King of Mercia," in which he proved that the story of Offa's journey to Rome, told by Roger of Wendover, a monk of St.

Alban's in the thirteenth century, as well as his presumed employment of Italian workmen in the English mint, will not bear the light of critical investigation; and that, consequently, the acknowledged superiority of his coinage to that of his contemporaries and successors, must have been due rather to Offa's natural disposition to foster art in his own country, than to any influence exercised by Italian artists brought over by him from the Continent. (See vol. xv. p. 196.)

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MAY 20, 1875.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A. H. Schindler, Esq., H. B. M. Consul in Persia, was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Vol. iii., Part 2. From the Society.

2. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. iii., 4th Series, No. 20. From the Association.

3. Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica per la Storia d'Italia. Anno VI. Fasc. iii.—vi. From the Editor.

4. Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut de Luxembourg, 1872, Part xxvii[v].; and 1873, Part xxviii[vi]. From the Institut.

5. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. iii., No. 4, 1875. From the Society.

6. Curiosités Numismatiques.—Monnaies rares ou inédites. 21<sup>me</sup> Article, par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

7. Two Treatises on Russian Coins and Medals, by Julius Eversena. From the Author.

Mr. C. Roberts exhibited specimens of the "Ashantee Medal"

and of the "Best Shot Medal," designed by Mr. Poynter and engraved by Mr. Wyon.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited specimens of the new German coinage; Mr. Hoblyn several patterns and proofs of English coins; and Mr. Golding coins of Charlemagne, Edward the Martyr, and Cnut.

Mr. C. F. Keary read a paper, designed to show that the art displayed upon the coins of Offa was entirely of native growth, and not indebted in any way, as some have supposed, to Italian influence. To do this he entered, first, upon an examination of the Italian coinage of the period, and of the circumstances in which the coins of Offa first appeared; and, secondly, upon an examination of the Saxon and Irish illuminated MSS., in order to show that many of the designs peculiar to those MSS. were reproduced on the coins of Offa. (See vol. xv., p. 206.)

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JUNE 17, 1875.

### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and regret to have to announce their loss by death of the two following Members:—

Colonel Charles Seton Guthrie, R.E.

John Williams, Esq., F.S.A.

and of the three following honorary Members:—

Dr. C. L. Grotefend.

M. Gennaro Riccio.

Dr. H. Meyer.

also, by resignation, of the four following Members :—

Rev. W. Allan, M.A.

P. Berney Brown, Esq.

Rev. R. V. French, D.D.

James Ferguson, Esq.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the eleven following Members :—

Rev. Thomas Calvert.

Prince Alfred Emmanuel de Croÿ.

H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A., Scot.

J. Durneau Doulton, Esq.

H. W. Lamb, Esq.

G. R. Mann, Esq.

A. H. Schindler, Esq.

Rev. Charles Soames.

H. Virtue Tebbs, Esq.

H. G. Tunmer, Esq.

George Wakeford, Esq., jun.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are, therefore, as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1874 . . . . .	2	151	41	194
Since elected . . . . .	—	11	—	11
	2	162	41	205
Deceased . . . . .	1	1	3	5
Resigned . . . . .	—	4	—	4
Erased . . . . .	—	—	—	—
Members, June, 1875 . . . . .	1	157	88	196



We proceed to give a brief notice of our deceased Members, Colonel Charles Seton Guthrie, R.E., and John Williams, Esq., F.S.A. :—

Little appears to be known of the late Colonel Guthrie's career in India, and it would seem that opportunities did not offer themselves for his attaining those military distinctions for which his ability and knowledge would no doubt have well fitted him. The result, perhaps, of this more quiet and private life, aided as this was by an ample fortune, has enabled him to promote in a remarkable manner the study of Oriental numismatics, though we are not aware that he has himself been the author of any memoir on this subject. As a collector during many years of his life in India, as an ardent enthusiast in the zeal with which he followed his favourite pursuit up to the very day of his sudden and unexpected death, Colonel Guthrie was unrivalled ; the result being the bringing together the largest number of Eastern coins ever yet procured by any one man, and the formation of more than one series, of a fulness and completeness not likely to be hereafter surpassed. Mr. Thomas has rightly pointed out that to his zeal and liberality is mainly due the preservation of many hundred additional specimens from the great hoard of early Bengal coins found in Kooch Bahár in 1868, forming as these did the essential basis of the valuable monograph by that gentleman " On the Initial Coinage of Bengal " (Journ. As. Soc., Part i., 1866 ; Part ii., 1878). The Numismatic Society are in like manner indebted to the generosity of Colonel Guthrie, who, having purchased the copper plates which had been engraved for the late Mr. J. R. Stuart (to illustrate a work on the Sassanian coins he had in preparation at his death), permitted the editors of the Numismatic Chronicle to avail themselves of them for several articles by Mr. Thomas, printed in the twelfth volume, New Series. It is understood that Colonel Guthrie's collection, which amounted at his death to the large number of 1,340 *N*, 7,100 *Æ*, and 10,000 *Æ*, has been offered to the Government of Germany for

what is, probably, the moderate sum of £5,000 ; and, we may hope, in the interests of science, that this offer will be accepted, and that thus, what Colonel Guthrie has brought together during so many patient years, may not be at once dispersed ; the more so as the coins are, at present, completely arranged and sorted according to dynasties and localities. No catalogue, we believe, however, has been published of any portion of it, besides what has been accomplished by Mr. Stanley Poole.

Mr. John Williams, F.S.A., the late assistant secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, was born in London on Oct. 19, 1797, and educated at Charter House. In his twenty-fifth year he became a member of the Spitalfields Mathematical Society, of which he was soon afterwards appointed secretary. In this capacity he frequently gave lectures, one of which, on mental arithmetic, was afterwards printed, and attracted considerable attention. He also lectured on electricity, botany, geology, numismatics, and on the art of making casts of coins, at which he was a great adept. He never lost an opportunity of taking an impression from rare gems or coins which came within his reach, and in the course of his long lifetime he made a collection of some fifty thousand casts. The earlier of these are neatly executed either in plaster of Paris or sulphur ; but when electrotyping was invented, he speedily made himself a master of the art, and produced thousands of copies in copper, many of which are remarkable for the beauty of their finish. We may especially mention a collection of fac-similes of large brass Roman coins, which is bound in six volumes, and was founded on the famous collection of Admiral Smyth. This he often thought of reproducing by photography for publication, but, owing probably to the death of Admiral Smyth, his idea was never carried out.

In 1836 he joined in the formation of the Numismatic Society of London, in the welfare of which, until the day of his death, on the 3rd December, 1874, he continued to take an active interest.

In the year 1837 he read a paper before the Society on the coinage of the Greeks and Romans. Some years later he turned his attention to the study of Chinese, and, after some years, succeeded in making himself master of much of their historical literature. His principal work was on the Chinese observations of comets from B.C. 611 to A.D. 1640, which was published in 1871, partly at the expense of the Royal Astronomical Society. Besides his knowledge of Chinese, he had a considerable acquaintance with Arabic and Hebrew, and at the recent Congress of Orientalists, in London, his name was placed upon their Council. Among the papers which he contributed to the Numismatic Society, the following may be here mentioned:—

1. Some Account of Tseen Shih Too, a Chinese work on Coins. 1850.

2. Account of Kin Ting Tseen Luh, a Chinese work on Coins. 1851.

3. An Epitome of Chinese Numismatics. 1853.

4. Notice of Three Chinese Medals. 1861.

5. Account of a Deposit found in a Chinese Statue of Buddha. 1863.

6. Account of a Collection of Chinese Coins in the possession of H. W. Black, Esq., F.S.A., and of others in the possession of Captain Archer. 1864.

7. On an Example of Chinese Paper Currency of the Ming Dynasty. 1864.

8. Milling not Marking. 1864.

9. Remarks on Mr. Powell's second paper, "Milling not Marking." 1865.

10. Explanation of a Table of the Japanese Nen-go, with Additional Tables to facilitate its use. 1866.

Mr. Williams was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and, in addition to his duties in connection with the Astronomical Society, he for many years filled the office of assistant secretary to the Microscopical Society and of librarian to the Numismatic Society. He was regular in his attendance at the

Meetings of our Council long after he had ceased to hold the office of librarian, which advancing age compelled him to resign.

His wife died on the 10th of November last, and in less than three weeks after he followed her to the grave.

The financial condition of the Society continues to be satisfactory, though some additional expense has this year been incurred in providing book-cases in the new apartments in the house of the Royal Society of Literature, 4, St. Martin's Place, to which the Society moved at Christmas last. The Council feel certain that this outlay will be approved of, and that the Society will gladly sanction a further outlay for printing a catalogue of its library, and for binding a number of the volumes in it. The Council confidently anticipate the thorough approval by the Society of the change of domicile which has been made, and which in their opinion is a fitting subject for congratulation.

The President then delivered the following address :—

GENTLEMEN,—As this is the first occasion on which we have assembled for one of our Anniversary Meetings in these apartments, and as, moreover, this is the first of those meetings at which I have occupied the presidential chair, to which you did me the honour of electing me at your last Anniversary, it will probably be expected of me that I should offer you a few remarks by way of an Address.

In the first place, I must follow the example of the Council in congratulating you on being in the occupation of more commodious apartments than those in which for so many years we have met, and on their being in so central a position, which, owing to our present railway facilities, is almost equally accessible to such of our members as come hither from the busy Eastern part of London as to those who come to us from the more leisurely West. To all it will, I am sure, be found of great convenience that our library should again be more readily available for reference, and we must all feel grateful to our

excellent librarian, Mr. Blades, for the care he has bestowed in the arrangement of our volumes. The numismatic collections of the Society will also be again accessible, and if of no great intrinsic value, will in many cases be of interest if only from their association with some of our earlier members, whom death has removed from among us.

For our Society is not a creature of yesterday, but already dates back to an era removed from us by upwards of a generation, its first meeting having taken place on the 26th of January, 1837. During that period of eight and thirty years, we have numbered in our body all the most distinguished numismatists of this country, and it is with some justifiable pride that we can point to the results of our labours, comprised as they are in no less than thirty-six volumes, illustrated by plates too numerous to attempt to count.

The two volumes of the Numismatic Journal, and the twenty volumes composing the first series of the Numismatic Chronicle, are connected with a name which will always be held in the highest esteem by British numismatists, that of John Yonge Akerman, with whom in the issue of the later volumes was conjoined another, of whose multifarious services to the Society it is needless for me to speak, my excellent predecessor in this chair, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux.

The New Series of the Chronicle, which is now in its fifteenth volume, has been entirely the property of the Society, and published under its directions. The Society may well be congratulated on the undiminished activity of those who contribute to its pages, and on the valuable articles which from time to time make their appearance in it. It might indeed be a cause for surprise that sufficient new matter should in each year be found to fill up the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, but the character of the papers which are published in it shows, I think, no falling off in new subjects of interest, nor in the method of treating them.

The more precise and scientific study of history which now prevails, and the greater amount of historical and geo-

graphical knowledge which is now at our command, react, and will I hope long continue to react, on numismatic studies. At the same time the progress of wealth, leading as it does not only to the construction of railways and buildings, involving a greater amount of disturbance of the superficial deposits in which numismatic treasures are usually found, but also to regularly executed scientific explorations of sites of ancient occupation, has conduced to the discovery of coins of new and important types.

The advance of knowledge has, in numismatics as well as in other sciences, led to an examination of the ground for old beliefs, and in many instances what were regarded as unquestionable truths have come to be considered subjects on which even the orthodox may express a doubt. Moreover, at the present day we are not so well satisfied as they often appear in former generations to have been, by some empirical, if not indeed capricious, classification, and we find grounds for inquiry beyond the limits with the exploration of which the older numismatists were often content.

In a short address such as the present, it would open up too wide a field were I even briefly to enumerate points upon which further knowledge is desirable, and in all probability by no means unattainable with regard to Greek and Roman numismatics. Looking nearer home, and passing by the ancient British and Anglo-Saxon series in which confessedly much remains to be ascertained, how imperfect is our knowledge of English coins between the time of the Conqueror and that of Elizabeth. Who, for instance, is there who can tell us the exact sequence of the different types of the two Williams, or pronounce with certainty as to which are to be assigned to the Conqueror and which to Rufus? To whom are we to attribute some of the baronial coins struck in the time of Stephen, and how are we to allot the short-cross pennies between Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III.? Are we certain as to the silver coins of the three Edwards, and are there no long-cross

coins with the name of Henry III., which were struck under the first Edward? Have we as yet decided how to assign all the different types of Henry IV., V., and VI.? And do we know the succession of the mint marks on the silver coins of Edward IV.? Do we know all the varieties of the coins struck under Edward V., and can we trace the succession of the types of the gold sovereigns of Henry VII., or assign with confidence the silver coins of Henry VIII. to their proper dates? These and many other questions will readily occur to any one who has made this portion of the English series his study.

It may be that none of these questions are of great historical importance, but they are still of great numismatic interest; for, apart from their connection with history, coins have an interest of their own, as being trustworthy survivors from bygone times, and after all, however unphilosophical it may be, there is an innate feeling planted in the human breast which invests the mere fact of collecting and arranging with a peculiar pleasure. The degree of pleasure varies much in different individuals, but no one who has not himself been a collector or in some manner in charge of collections can acquire that intimate knowledge of coins which is so necessary not only to avoid imposition, but to have a proper appreciation of their character and meaning.

It is here that those of our members who are rather collectors than professional numismatists, can render such good service to our science, and I trust that we shall long number among us members of both these classes, and that by their mutual co-operation our knowledge of the past may each year be extended and rendered more complete. I hope that during the approaching session our collectors may bring many new types and coins for exhibition at our meetings, and that among us may be found those who will appreciate these new discoveries, and be able to extract from them their full historical value.

The Treasurer's Report is as appended:—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1874, to June, 1875.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN FREDERICK NECK, TREASURER. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for Printing Chronicle, Part 53 . . . . .	40	14	2	By Balance from last statement . . . . .	99	9	2
" ditto ditto . . . . .	30	11	6	" Mr. R. Hall, for Chronicles . . . . .	0	14	0
" ditto ditto . . . . .	39	15	2	" Mr. H. Wood, for ditto . . . . .	4	4	0
" ditto ditto . . . . .	40	17	6	" Mr. J. R. Smith, for ditto . . . . .	46	10	0
" Mr. Alfred M. Williams, for Engraving . . . . .	1	7	0	" Mr. Head, for ditto . . . . .	8	4	6
" Mr. L. Isaacs, for Book-cases . . . . .	28	0	0	" Separate copies of Mr. Head's Paper on the "Coin- age of Syracuse," per Messrs. Spencer, Sawyer & Co. )	0	18	0
" Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving . . . . .	14	0	0	" Ditto ditto per Mr. Head . . . . .	8	0	0
" Mr. Vaux, for Rent and Expenses . . . . .	15	0	0	" Ditto ditto per Mr. J. R. Smith . . . . .	22	13	4
" Ditto for Sundries . . . . .	2	17	6	" Ditto ditto per Mr. Quaritch . . . . .	0	10	8
" Gratuity to Housekeeper at Gate Street . . . . .	2	2	0	" Mr. Vaux, for Book-case . . . . .	5	0	0
" Paid C. Barr, for Brass Plate . . . . .	2	0	0	" Remittance for Postage . . . . .	0	3	0
" Five Insurance on £500. . . . .	0	15	0	" Life Subscription . . . . .	13	13	0
" Mr. Turpin, for cataloguing and arranging Books . . . . .	21	0	0	" Entrance Fees . . . . .	11	11	0
" Ditto for Postage . . . . .	0	1	6	" Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	155	8	0
" Mr. Head, for Postage and Sundries . . . . .	3	0	0				
" Collector, for Commission and Postage . . . . .	8	4	0				
" Balance carried forward . . . . .	126	13	4				
	<u>£376 18 8</u>						
				By Balance in hand, June 17 . . . . .	126	13	4
				J. FREDERICK NECK, HON. TREASURER.			

London, June 17, 1875.



The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

*President.*

JOHN EVANS, ESQ., V.P.R.S., V.P.S.A., P.G.S.

*Vice-Presidents.*

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, D.C.L., F.R.S.,  
F.G.S.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S.

*Treasurer.*

J. F. NECK, ESQ.

*Secretaries.*

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, ESQ.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, ESQ.

*Foreign Secretary.*

PERCY GARDNER, ESQ., M.A.

*Librarian.*

W. BLADES, ESQ.

*Members of the Council.*

REV. PROF. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D.

S. BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D.

REV. TULLIE CORNTHWAITE, M.A.

JOHN DAVIDSON, ESQ.

HENRY W. HENFREY, ESQ.

THOMAS JONES, ESQ.

CHARLES F. KEARY, ESQ., M.A.

REV. S. S. LEWIS, M.A.

STANLEY LANE POOLE, ESQ.

REV. ASSHLETON POWNALL, M.A., F.S.A.

LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
DECEMBER, 1875.



LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
DECEMBER, 1875.

*An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded  
for his annual contribution.*

- \*ALEXANDER, M. GEORGE DE, The Friars, Aylesford.  
ARNOLD, THOMAS JAMES, Esq., F.S.A., 1, Greville Place, N.W.  
\*BABINGTON, REV. PROF. CHURCHILL, B.D., M.R.S.L., Cockfield  
Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk.  
BAKER, W. R., Esq., Bayfordbury, Hertford.  
BAYLEY, E. CLIVE, Esq., H.E.I.C.S., India.  
BIRCH, SAMUEL, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., British Museum.  
BLADES, WILLIAM, Esq., 11, Abchurch Lane, *Librarian*.  
BLAIR, ROBERT, Esq., 84, King Street, South Shields.  
\*BRIGGS, ARTHUR, Esq., Cragg Royd, Rawden, Leeds.  
BUNBURY, EDWARD H., Esq., M.A., F.G.S., 35, St. James's Street.  
BURNS, EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A., Scot., 33, Dublin Street, Edinburgh.  
BUSH, COLONEL TOBIN, 14, St. James's Square; and 29, Rue de  
l'Orangerie, Le Havre.  
BUTLER, CHARLES, Esq., Warren Wood, Hatfield.  
BUTLER, JOHN, Esq., Park View, Bolton.  
CALVERT, REV. THOS., 47, Buckingham Road, Brighton.  
CAMERINO, CARLOS, Esq.  
CARPRAE, ROBERT, Esq., 77, George Street, Edinburgh.  
CAVE, LAURENCE TRENT, Esq., 75, Chester Square.  
CHAMBERS, MONTAGUE, Esq., Q.C., Child's Place, Temple Bar.  
CHRISTIE, HENRY, Esq., 28, Davenant Road, Upper Holloway.  
COATS, THOS. FERGUSLIE, Esq., Paisley, North Britain.  
COCKBURN, JOHN, Esq., 28, George Street, Richmond.  
\*CORNTHWAITE, REV. TULLIE, M.A., Forest, Walthamstow.  
CREEKE, MAJOR ANTHONY BUCK, Monkholme, Burnley.  
\*CROÿ, PRINCE ALFRED EMMANUEL DE, Chateau du Rœulx, Hainaut,  
Belgium.

CUMING, H. SYER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., 63, Kennington Park Road.  
 CUMMINGS, REV. A. H., Gunwalloe Vicarage, Helston, Cornwall.  
 CUNNINGHAM, MAJOR-GENERAL A., H. S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill.

DAVIDSON, JOHN, Esq., Arts Club, Hanover Square.  
 DAVIES, WILLIAM RUSHER, Esq., Market Place, Wallingford.  
 DOUGLAS, CAPTAIN R. J. H., Junior United Service Club.  
 DOULTON, J. DURNEAU, Esq., Springwell, Clapham Common.  
 DRYDEN, SIR HENRY, BART., Canon's Ashby, Daventry.

EADES, GEORGE, Esq., Evesham, Worcestershire.  
 ENNISKILLEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.,  
 M.R.I.A., Florence Court, Enniskillen, Ireland, *Vice-President*.

EVANS, ARTHUR J., Esq., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.  
 EVANS, JOHN, Esq., F.R.S., V.P.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead  
 and 65, Old Bailey, *President*.

EVANS, SEBASTIAN, Esq., LL.D., Highgate, Birmingham.

FEUARDENT, GASTON, Esq., 61, Great Russell Street.  
 FONROBERT, JULES, Esq., 103, Leipziger Street, Berlin.  
 FOSTER, JAMES MURRAY, Esq., F.R.C.P.E., Collumpton, Devon.  
 FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., 103,  
 Victoria Street.

FRENTZEL, RUDOLPH, Esq., 2, Winchester Street Buildings.  
 FREUDENTHAL, W., Esq., M.D., 2, Gördelinger Street, Brunswick.

GARDNER, PERCY, Esq., M.A., British Museum.

GILL, HENRY SEPTIMUS, Esq., Tiverton.

GOLDING, CHARLES, Esq., Heathcote House, Romford, Essex.

GREENWELL, REV. WILLIAM, M.A., F.S.A., Durham.

GRUEBER, HERBERT A., Esq., British Museum.

\*GUEST, EDWIN, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Caius College, Cambridge.

HALL, ROBERT, Esq., 9, Aldermanbury Postern, Fore Street, E.C.

HARDY, WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., Record Office, Fetter Lane.

HAY, MAJOR, H.E.I.C.S., 7, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street.

HEAD, BARCLAY VINCENT, Esq., British Museum, *Secretary*.

HENFREY, HENRY WILLIAM, Esq., 46, Powis Square, Bayswater.

HEWARD, PETER, Esq., Baidon Lodge, Markfield, Leicester.

HOBLYN, RICHARD, Esq., 2, Sussex Place, Regent's Park.

HOLT, HENRY FRED. WILLIAM, Esq., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Tamsay,  
 Formosa.

HUNT, J. MORTIMER, Esq., 156, New Bond Street.

HYDE, COLONEL, Calcutta Mint.

- JAMES, J. HENRY, Esq., Kingswood, Watford.
- JENNINGS, ROBERT, Esq., 23, East Park Terrace, Southampton.
- JONES, JAMES COVE, Esq., F.S.A., Loxley, Wellesbourne, Warwick.
- JONES, THOMAS, Esq., Llanerchrugog Hall, Wales, and 2, Plowden's Buildings, Temple.
- JONES, W. STAVENHAGEN, Esq., 79, Carlton Hill, N.W.
- JUDD, CHARLES, Esq., Stoneleigh Villas, Chestnut Road, Tottenham.
- KAY, HENRY CASSELLS, Esq., 3, Hyde Park Place, Cumberland Gate.
- KEARY, CHARLES FRANCIS, Esq., British Museum.
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